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Christian Women

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THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR®

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THE CONTINUING CRISIS

• January 9 to February 5, and there is no doubt that already Ronald Reagan has done some good. He has brought dignity to realms where there recently had been mawkishness and amateurism unsurpassed in American history. He has convincingly suggested that America again has a serious government run by serious men. And he has even gotten the Washington press corps to display some dignity. It must be admitted, though, that they displayed this dignity only after being goaded by his press secretary and issued a manual on the fundamentals of courtesy. Nonethess the reporters will no longer whistle, wave, shout, and deliver oaths at press conferences, at least until impeachment procedures commence.

• On January 20 Ronald Reagan was sworn in as the fortieth President of the United States, and our 52 hostages were promptly released. On January 21 Jimmy flew off to greet them in Germany, and there was no way they could get away from him, though some did stay in their rooms. The hostages returned to the United States on January 25, setting off a wave of frenzy that suggested some sort of dementia had settled upon the members of our media, most of whom did not seem to know if they were celebrating VE day or an Irish wake for a fallen house pet. By the end of the affair a perceptible sense of embarrassment seemed to sink into the broadcast journalists, who, of course, had been most idiotic, and Senator Edward Kennedy and his wife Joan announced their intention to get a divorce.

• On the sports scene, Mr. Leon Spinks, formerly the heavyweight boxing champion of the world, was found buck naked and crestfallen in a Detroit hotel. According to the champ, as he was leaving a saloon in the dark of the night "an unseen attacker" clouted him into unconsciousness and absconded with his clothes, including his gold teeth, a blue fox coat, and jewelry worth about $45,000. Mr. Bill Walton, the Marxist-Leninist thumper for health food and holistic spoonery, ended one of the sickliest National Basketball Association careers ever, when Dr. Tony Daly, his orthopedic surgeon, simply declared his body beyond the therapies of medical science. It was an absurd ending for this tiresome proponent of New Age claptrap, and he made it all the more absurd when he roused himself from his anti-materialist reveries to file a $5.6 million lawsuit against the Portland Trailblazers. The Oakland Raiders won the XVth annual Superbowl, while Miss Mellissa E. Martin of DePauw University won the 1981 International Goddess of Chewing Tobacco Contest in a wetly contested event that left several competitors holding their sides and looking for an Iranian.

• In international news, a Rio De Janeiro wedding broke into chaos when a pregnant woman stepped to the altar of Our Lady of Aparecide Church at the culmination of Mr. Julio Cesar Lacerdo's wedding, announced that he was the father of her child, and immediately went into labor. The Rev. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini is going to be furious when he learns that visitors to Madame Tussaud's London wax works no longer adjudge him the most hated man in history. This year's choice is again the late Adolph Hitler, an infidel whose knowledge of the Koran was limited to but a few somewhat banal aphorisms about the eupeptic value of goat cheese. In England, four venerable Labour Party MPs, made queasy by the Party's lurch toward Kim Il-Songism, made the first move to establish their own party by setting up a "Council for Social Democracy."

• Those public relations agencies hired by the Pentagon to present military life in more swinging hues should have an easier time of it thanks to the exertions of Midshipman James Love. The appropriately named Mr. Love made headlines on January 30 when U.S. District Judge Joseph Young upheld his expulsion from the Naval Academy for the role he played in the Academy's first recorded sex orgy. Filmed by Mr. Love in Bancroft Hall on a home movie camera, the debauch took place on November 22; and despite our government's laborious efforts toward a sexually integrated military, women were grossly underrepresented, there being present four Midshipmen and only one Midshipperson, Miss Mary Lamble, 21. Doubtless, feminists will soon be clamoring for the government to issue equitable guidelines for future orgies. Whales—whom Canadian researcher Dr. John Ford described this month as "not all that smart" despite their "big brains"—are about to get a fitting spokesman, none other than Walter Cronkite. Upon his retirement in March, the great man will begin appearing nationally as a spokesman for whales and other wildlife. In Bloomington, Indiana, Mrs. Diane Riordan entered the hospital complaining of an indisposition, only to be informed that she was in the final states of an undetected pregnancy. Several hours later she, a nutritionist, and her husband, an archaelogist, were the proud parents of an eight-pound babe.

• Congratulations are in order for the Hon. Richard Kelly (R. Fla.), who became the sixth U.S. representative convicted in the Abscam investigation. In Washington, D.C., it was reported that former presidential candidate John Anderson will teach a course at Stanford University; and Mr. Skip Adams-Taylor, the disco-going homosexual convicted of murdering a sexually importunate Miss Joyce Robertson and then decapitating her parakeet, was given a 25-year sentence for first degree murder. In Indianapolis, Indiana, Mr. Carlos Iglesias is suing the Marion County Sheriff's Department for releasing him from the hoosegow during inclement weather. And Miss Shannon Jo Ryan, the daughter of Congressman Leo Ryan, an early casualty of the Jonestown Community, has taken up with Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, the illustrious guru and lady's man. "I do not think that a suicide situation like Jonestown would ever arise," the straight-talking young searcher informed *Newsweek*, "Bhagwan would never ask that of us. But if he did, I would do it."

• Mr. Cyrus Vance ducked and listened for air-raid sirens on January 29 when Alexander Haig's State Department denied Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin access to the Department's underground garage. Theretofore our State Department had extended this privilege to the Comrade so that he would be able to enter the building with warm ears and without suffering ambuscade from the journalists of Chase Manhattan. Liberationist theology suffered a blow to the solar plexus when, in remarking on the commercialism that has preceded Pope John Paul II's trip to the Philippines, Manila's Cardinal Jaime Sin advised that "Money is the excrement of the devil, but it is also good fertilizer." In Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Mr. Rex Speiler, a former American professor of political science, was rushed to a hospital after collapsing in the street. According to a placard worn around his neck, Mr. Speiler had walked through downtown Kuala Lumpur for weeks insisting that he was a Kleenex tissue and refusing solid foods until "some good soul uses me."

• Prospects for the Hon. Andy Young's international consulting firm brightened stupendously this month when United Press International reported the first hard evidence of Negroes living in outer space. According to the UPI, a Negro space traveller named Mr. Quadir from the planet G-7 got on a Manhattan shuttle train wearing iridescent purple sunglasses and a green and yellow vinyl jacket to which had been pinned a rubber alligator. Explaining that he was penniless, owing to the unexpected crash of his spaceship, Mr. Quadir played a few tunes on his saxophone and asked fellow passengers for financial assistance. When we called Mr. Young's Atlanta office, inquiring as to how he intended to exploit this extraterrestrial opportunity, the spokesman was evasive, in fact uncooperative. Yet there seems to be no doubt that when the space shuttle is launched later this year it will have new meaning for the greatest American diplomat since Benjamin Franklin.

—RET

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EDITORIAL

TV's DEBAUCH

by R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

As the dirty-necked primitives of the Holy Man Khomeini were hauling Jimmy Carter across the last agonies of his hostage ordeal, National Public Radio (NPR) was off interviewing American flagellants still walloping themselves and us for Vietnam and the furbish lousewort. NPR was, as usual, idiotic, but TV news coverage of the hostages' release was idiotic too. There, the stars of TV news went into deep consultation with psychiatrists. What is more, they had placed camera crews in the homes of many of the hostages' relatives, thus allowing devoted TV audiences to savor every gush of emotion. It would be a moment of stupendous authenticity. It would also be stupendously irrelevant to our understanding of the hostages' release. All that the shrinks and the camera crews provided was gossip and excitement, which is, of course, the heart of broadcast journalism.

National Public Radio is our government-supported organ for 1960s youth culture, and as year begets year it will provide a fascinating view of the continuing juvenescence of a singular American subculture that was full of arrested adolescents to begin with. Its news shows always echo with voices—sometimes supercilious, sometimes oh so precious—reminding Americans of their brutal past and reproaching them for any lapse into national seriousness.

With Ronald Reagan's inauguration but a few hours off, and the idiot Iranians ravening for their last glories before Reagan and Alexander Haig wiped the prissy smile from Uncle Sam's face, the voices of NPR were full of loony mission. There was an overstrung lady voice that stammered along about how improved America is now that it has suffered its recent indignities. Apparently, no one had spit in her food recently or forced her to play Russian roulette. In the personl confessional mode that is still so popular she told us all about her latest geopolitical feelings and about how America has been made stronger by resigning itself to its weakness—a familiar piece of 1970s ratiocination, that.

Then there was a learned prof who lectured against harboring any uncharitable thoughts toward our tormentors lest we encourage fresh outbreaks of Manifest Destiny. Here too is a familiar line of reasoning, namely: that the American people are more dangerous than their enemies. It is this fear that prompted the Carter administration to deny early reports of Iranian atrocities against our diplomats, though the Wonderboy now professes to be shocked by these stories.

Finally, NPR interviewed a young man who simply bawled. I tried like a good Christian to ascertain the cause of his sadness, but got nowhere. Possibly he had been asked to recite the Pledge of Allegiance. Possibly someone had stolen his rubber duck. The thing remains a mystery. When NPR president Frank Mankiewicz frantically leaps to the defense of NPR as he always does, I hope his letter to us will explain these ludicrous utterances.

The trivializing influence of the broadcast media is one of the salient characteristics of our age. Whom the gods would destroy they first present with a microphone. When they are in a particularly mischievous humor they bring in a TV crew. NPR is egregious because it is so pretentious and ideological. Network television is egregious because it is so pretentious and inane. Apparently it is incapable of treating any event, no matter how tragic, with dignity and intelligence. Its treatment of the hostages' release reached a new low in tastelessness and triviality.

The ordeal over the hostages has been a unique national tragedy, brought on by a series of incomparable diplomatic blunders by the Carter administration. After the first takeover of the Embassy the administration ignored the brutal nature of the Iranian regime, acting as though Andy Young's depiction of Khomeini as a saint was the inside dope necessary for understanding Iran. After the decision to admit the Shah the administration still made no adjustment to reality. Following the second takeover the administration merely emboldened the Iranians by immediately eschewing force and taking the appeaser's path. Now the entire Middle East is a more dangerous place.

TV News never critically examined the implications of this diplomatic disaster. Instead it allowed itself to

Adapted from RET's Monday column in the Washington Post.

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be manipulated by the administration with melodramatic symbols: darkened Christmas trees, yellow ribbons, those avalanches of Christmas cards supposedly flowing into our diplomats' cells.

This is the kind of soap opera that TV relishes. For over a year the winsome commentators scowled and intoned ironies and sweet sentiments. Never very quick to convey the disturbing side of life, the commentators seemed utterly oblivious to the brutality of the Holy Man's mobs. Imagine, they reported the Iranians' outrages every night and never seemed to anticipate the import of their barbarism. Their audience was left feeling that these things just happen. TV land is not a medium congenial to realism or even reality.

As our imprisoned diplomats departed Iran the stars of TV news were all anticipating a happy ending. The shrinks were called in to give us a neat understanding of the mysteries of hostagedom, and, I might add, to allow the busybodies access to someone else's misery. The cameras were focused on the hostages' relatives to give us a taste of the happy moment, and, I might add, to allow the busybodies to eavesdrop and to satisfy other base impulses. It was going to be another great moment in the saga of TV journalism. Hours and hours were lavished upon the spectacle. Then the news seeped out about torture, and the affair soured. Will the media journalists be sobered up by these revelations?

I doubt it. During the last weeks of the hostage ordeal the testimony in the trial of Pvt. Robert Garwood revealed the bestial treatment of our POWs, and only the newspaper stories conveyed any sense of the horror. Such stories do not fit into the ideological scheme of NPR or the razzle-dazzle format of TV news. □

CAPITOL IDEAS

LOST CONTINENCE

by Tom Bethell

Somewhere around the National Archives building on Pennsylvania Avenue I joined the March for Life, now in its eighth year. I was happy to be with them, too. Among the forest of placards carried by the long line of marchers (50-60,000 according to the published estimates, 100,000 according to march organizers) I noticed one that Herrick might have written:

Some Babies Die By Chance
But None Should Die By Choice

The good weather that arrived on schedule for President Reagan's inauguration had stayed on for a day or two, although Reagan himself did not come out of the White House to speak to the crowd of abortion-protestors gathered on the Ellipse.

The one part of Nellie Gray's speech the television producers seemed to like was the moment when she said that Reagan had been invited but had not shown up. It may have been a mistake on the part of Mrs. Gray, the march organizer, to mention this because it was predictable that the media would amplify it into one more conflict, carrying the subliminal message to viewers ". . . the anti-abortion people persist in being unrealistic . . ." "Reagan sobers up, confronts reality. . . ."

On the other hand I hesitate to second-guess Nellie Gray's tactics. She seems to know what she is doing. But in her position I would have simply said that Reagan had invited the anti-abortion leaders to see him inside the White House after the march. This of course was more than the little weasel Jimmy Carter had ever been able to bring himself to do, despite his much advertised religiosity. Carter, quite despicably in my view, confined himself throughout his presidency to the observation that he was "personally opposed" to abortion. In which case he should have done something to stop it. But he was afraid doing so would lose him votes. How does he feel about it now, I wonder? He lost anyway, and yet several million unborn infants were aborted during his appalling presidency. Someone should have told Carter that a number of the presidents before Lincoln were "personally opposed" to slavery. And, as with abortion, one of the reasons they didn't do anything about it was the oft-heard doubt whether slaves were "fully human."

It is hardly necessary to say that abortion is one of the great issues of our time, perhaps in truth dwarfing all others. It is estimated that ten million abortions have been carried out in the United States since the Supreme Court's 1973 decision. If you believe that each one of these abortions was *murder,* then it follows that abortion is by far the most serious public policy issue of our time. Most people in the right-to-life movement, of course, do indeed regard abortion as murder.

It is worth considering the political implications of this, which I had the opportunity to do as the march ended and I made my way inside the Russell Office Building, where hordes of marchers were hammering on the doors and patrolling the corridors in search of their senators, some of whom I suppose had gone into hiding for the day. The guards at the doors, for reasons having to do with "fire hazards," were only admitting 50 marchers at a time. One of the guards told me that there were far more marchers coming to lobby this year than ever before.

What is the balance of outrage over abortion? How do the rival sentiments match up? To what conflicting pressure is the impartial legislator exposed? On the one hand, the anti-abortionist believes that abortion is murder. On the other hand, the pro-abortionist believes—what? Since pregnancy is not compulsory, and can be avoided by continence, it follows that the pro-abortionist merely believes that those who are

Tom Bethell is The American Spectator*'s Washington editor and a Washington editor of* Harper's.

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sexually promiscuous should not have to accept responsibility for their behavior.

What is striking here, of course, is the tremendous moral disparity between these two positions. The impartial legislator is therefore likely to feel a far more intense pressure from the anti-abortionists. That is why, it seems to me, liberals have made an almost unbelievable mistake, in purely political terms (let alone moral, of course), in coming to the rescue of the pro-abortion position. At the same time, they have abandoned the moral high-ground that they so confidently occupied during Vietnam and Watergate. How can you become morally indignant defending dilatation and curettage? There's no way. Pro-abortionists don't even believe in their own position, when you come right down to it. They will only say they are "pro-choice." They don't want to hear that horrible word.

Because of this great disparity of conviction—because the anti-abortionists strongly believe in their position and are zealous in promoting it; whereas the pro-abortionists *know* that in the end they are only propping up promiscuity—it follows that the anti-abortion people are bound to win this battle in the long run. No matter how outnumbered, zealots *always* prevail over the half-hearted. Liberals know this, and it is the superior zealotry of their foes that they fear most. It will be surprising, then, if the liberals don't sooner or later cut their losses and get out. Otherwise more and more of them will be dragged down to defeat by the terrible millstone of dead fetuses.

• • •

That evening, in another part of town, there was a cocktail party. The invitation read: "The Board of Directors of Planned Parenthood Federation of America cordially invites you to a reception to launch the Federation's 1981 Public Impact program." A crowd of well-dressed people, drinking cocktails and nibbling egg rolls dipped in sweet and hot sauce, was gathered in the Monroe Room of the Hilton Hotel. These were health care professionals, National Health Council, Health Planning this that and the other: functionaries of the "health care delivery system." And that doesn't mean delivering babies, believe me. It means having a desk job, a secretary and a file clerk, a decent salary deriving one way or another from the taxpayers, going to cocktail parties and talking about "the caring professions"; above all, no messy patients to disturb one's peace of mind. And here they were—"networking." And munching egg rolls.

Planned Parenthood is a 65-year-old organization started by Margaret Sanger and based on the socialist premise that if only the dreams of planners can be enforced, then the future can be controlled, risk and spontaneity abolished, providence preempted, evil eliminated, and Utopia finally grasped. First, however, rights must be asserted, plans promulgated, the public educated, and the government made to pay the bill. In 1979 Planned Parenthood income was $140 million, half of which came from government contracts, reimbursements, and grants.

"This conference marks the opening move in our year-long agenda to counter those who view the 1980 election results as their mandate to limit freedom in America," said Faye Wattleton, Planned Parenthood president, in a press release available at the door. "The fundamental principles of individual privacy and justice are under the most serious assault since the days of McCarthyism . . . self righteous minority . . . imposing their view of morality . . . fear, ignorance, intimidation." Particularly worrisome to Planned Parenthood is the possibility that their federal funds (under Title X of the Public Health Services Act) will be cut off.

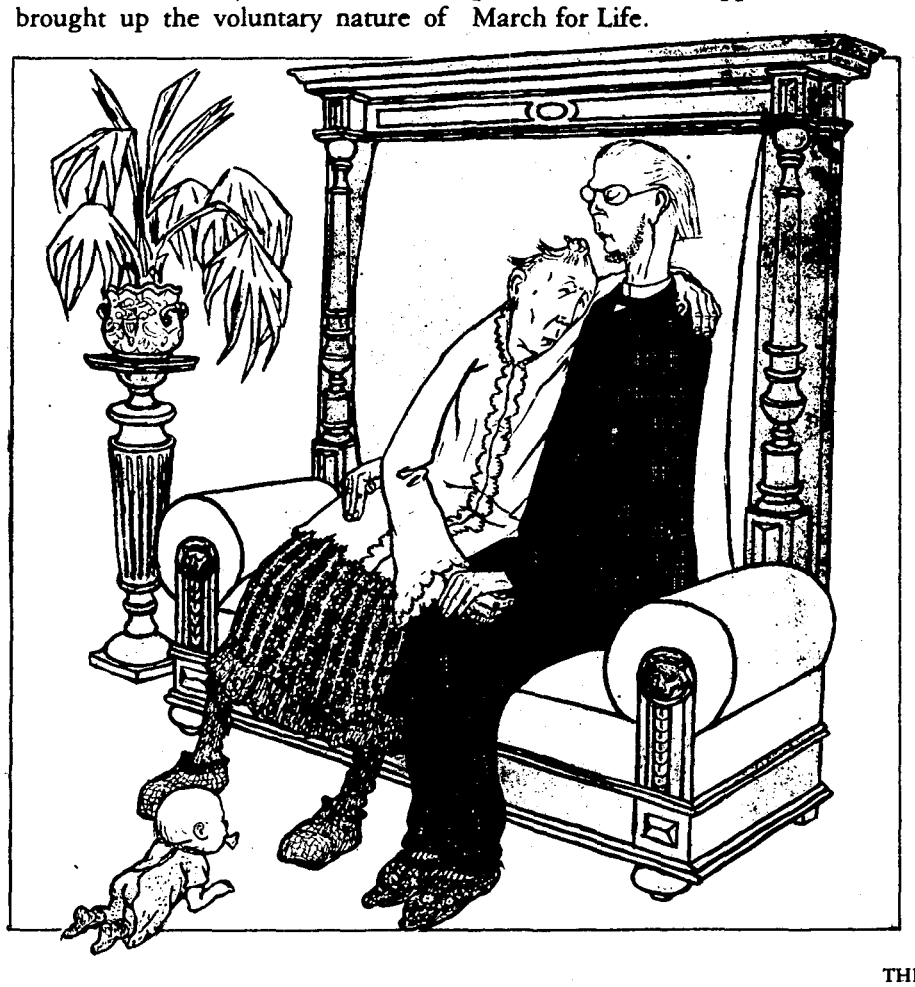
Someone introduced me to Faye Wattleton, a tall and glamorous 37-year-old. "Some people simply don't know the facts of reality in the real world," Faye said when I brought up the voluntary nature of pregnancy. "People do find themselves pregnant. They become involved in a relationship that results in sexual expression. Some people want to stamp out sexuality, which is very much a part of us. We can't repudiate others because they don't conform to our perception of what their behavior should be."

She spoke to a Congressman briefly and then expained: "It is our desire that no pregnancy be unwanted."

But does this mean that "unwanted" babies are better off dead?

"I have talked to people who wish they had not been born, because they felt they were not wanted," she replied, adding: "I might point out that the unborn do not have civil liberties under our government. . . . And this should not be brought under the perspective of religion."

I went in search of a drink and encountered Joseph F. O'Rourke III who was dressed like a traditional clergyman, with dog collar, and he was holding forth airily to a circle of mostly female admirers. Cigarette in one hand, vodka and ice in the other, half-moon glasses balanced precariously on the tip of his nose, the Reverend O'Rourke seemed pleased with life and his role in it: media trendy, forever on TV quarrelling with the Pope, his position somehow legitimized by the Fairness Doctrine. Today he was a spokesman for "Catholics For A Free Choice," up-to-date clerics who had held a press conference in opposition to the March for Life.



"He was defrocked," said a voice at my elbow, a Capitol Hill aide named Joan Vayo who was wearing a March for Life rose and had come to take a look at Planned Parenthood.

"I was a Jesuit for 20 years," O'Rourke explained, "and was thrown out for baptizing a child whose mother believed in free choice." Flippancy was his forte. "Apparently this abortion thing is serious for the Church," he said. "There's no earthly reason—perhaps there's a heavenly one but I'm not in touch with that evidence—why the Church shouldn't change its position on abortion. The tradition has been criticized from top to bottom. In every other area of social policy the Catholic bishops have changed."

There was some talk of polls, with the implication that what was formerly regarded as true ceases to be when majorities express a contrary view. O'Rourke told me that he still says mass. He hasn't been excommunicated. "The bishops don't excommunicate any more," he said. "There are many things for which it used to be automatic—speaking out in favor of abortion, for example—but now they never do. They always back down."

"That would make martyrs of them," Joan Vayo told me in an aside. "Look at what happened to Sonia Johnson when the Mormons excommunicated her. She became a martyr."

But her celebrity was short-lived. In a recent article on Johnson, the *Washington Post* inflated the conflict between her and the Mormon Church by saying she was only "technically" not a member. This paid tribute to the role that ***membership*** plays in authorizing one to define or change an organization's teachings. If you aren't in it, you can hardly alter its by-laws. But if you are, your arguments must thereby gain a degree of legitimacy. When the Pope visited America in 1979, NBC gave O'Rourke 30 seconds to attack him without even pointing out that "Father" O'Rourke was no longer a priest in good standing. So he may be unmartyred. But he has certainly played a role in muddying the doctrinal waters.

O'Rourke called for another vodka. Most people had gone by this time. Suddenly he flipped the clerical collar out of his shirt. It turned out to be nothing more than his calling card, neatly folded in half, and inserted between the wings of his black shirt collar. He undid the top button of his shirt, and lit a cigarette, transforming himself into a civilian.

"Hi, gorgeous," he said to a Planned Parenthood female functionary, who had come over for a chat. □

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Peter W. Rodman

SIDESWIPE: KISSINGER, SHAWCROSS AND THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CAMBODIA

The crafty scholarship of William Shawcross.

At the end of 1979 The American Spectator *awarded its Worst Book of the Year award to William Shawcross for his epic bowl of applesauce,* Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia. *We accorded the book high marks for Shawcross's masterful juggling of documents and for his assiduity in propounding themes at once illogical and moronic. Unfortunately, Mr. Shawcross failed to show up at our award ceremony—a practice that has become all too common with our laureates—but he was injudicious enough to challenge me to reveal examples of his legerdemain.*

Now I have asked Peter Rodman, formerly of the National Security Council Staff and currently Henry Kissinger's research assistant on the Kissinger memoirs, to illuminate the Shawcross method of cooking up history. It has been a demanding task. Through the Freedom of Information Act, Shawcross gained access to thousands of documents relating to America's foreign policy in Southeast Asia. Rodman is one of the few scholars who actually bothered to check Shawcross's work. What Rodman has discovered is that Shawcross is even slipperier than I reported in our February 1980 issue.

I suppose I could have kept this matter private—a mundane scandal known but to Rodman, Tyrrell, Shawcross, and Shawcross's favorite cleric. A private communiqué to the great artist would have fulfilled my Christian obligations, had the preposterous theme of the Shawcross book not come to be accepted by the Left as one of recent American history's Great Truths, namely: that the United States is responsible for the Cambodian holocaust. Left-wingers are repeating it fervently in the universities and other realms of the intelligentsia. In time it will assume the sacrosanct quality of so many other left-wing lies: the innocence of Alger Hiss, the Great Red Scare of the 1950s, the American responsibility for the origins of the Cold War.

These are some of the lies that the left-wing brethren live by. And of course the brethren are very fine at spreading them. A few weeks ago during Senate hearings on the confirmation of Alexander Haig, some senators intoned the Shawcross thesis as though it had just been passed on to them by Herodotus in a vision.

It is the responsibility of any intelligent journal of opinion to keep the record straight even from the credulity of senators. The Left has been successfully disfiguring history for years. In the following piece, Rodman shows one of the ways the surgery is accomplished. Incidentally, Rodman's scholarship appears all the more exquisite when one considers the lofty laudations Shawcross has received for his "scholarship." This piece might not stop the Left from spreading its mumbo jumbo on Cambodia, but it will make the Left's job more difficult, at least among the literate. —*RET*

In April 1975, the Communist Khmer Rouge took power in Cambodia, emptied Phnom Penh of its entire population, and embarked on a nationwide campaign of terror and destruction that claimed the lives of somewhere between one million and three million Cambodians—out of a total population of seven million.

Four years later, British journalist William Shawcross produced a book entitled *Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia.** As its subtitle suggests, it attempts to prove *American* responsibility for the horrors wrought by the Khmer Rouge. Shawcross argues in essence that American bombing in 1969 "destabilized" the neutral government of Prince Norodom Sihanouk; that the U.S.-South Vietnamese incursion of 1970 triggered the bloody war in Cambodia that engulfed the country; and that America's prolongation of the conflict for five years paved the way for the victory of the Khmer Rouge and accounted for their genocidal brutality after they took power.

The Shawcross book was widely praised for its impressive documentation, even by some who did not entirely swallow its conclusions. The book advertises itself as based on "thousands of pages of classified U.S. Government documents" obtained under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Without the time or inclination to verify his evidence, reviewers seemed mesmerized by invocation of the Freedom of Information Act, as if it were a voodoo incantation that paralyzed all critical faculties. I have had the opportunity to examine a duplicate set of the government files that Shawcross obtained under the FOIA. It was an experience full of surprises. Close scrutiny of the materials shows that the evidentiary basis of the book is so seriously flawed as to discredit his whole enterprise. He had no White House documents, since they are exempt from the FOIA, yet he presumes to pass

*New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979.

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judgment above all on White House decisions. His vaunted research turns out to be slipshod, distorted by bias, and in some cases bordering on the fraudulent. It is a compendium of errors, sleight of hand, and egregious selectivity; he has suppressed entirely a mountain of evidence in his possession that contradicted his principal points.

The chronicle of Shawcross's errors is in itself a brief history of Cambodia's tragedy.

• • •

Beginning in about 1965, North Vietnam established a string of military bases on the territory of neutral Cambodia, along the border, just opposite South Vietnam. From these sanctuaries North Vietnamese forces launched forays into South Vietnam, attacking South Vietnamese and American troops and escaping back across the border into Cambodia where self-imposed restraints prevented our pursuit or retaliation.

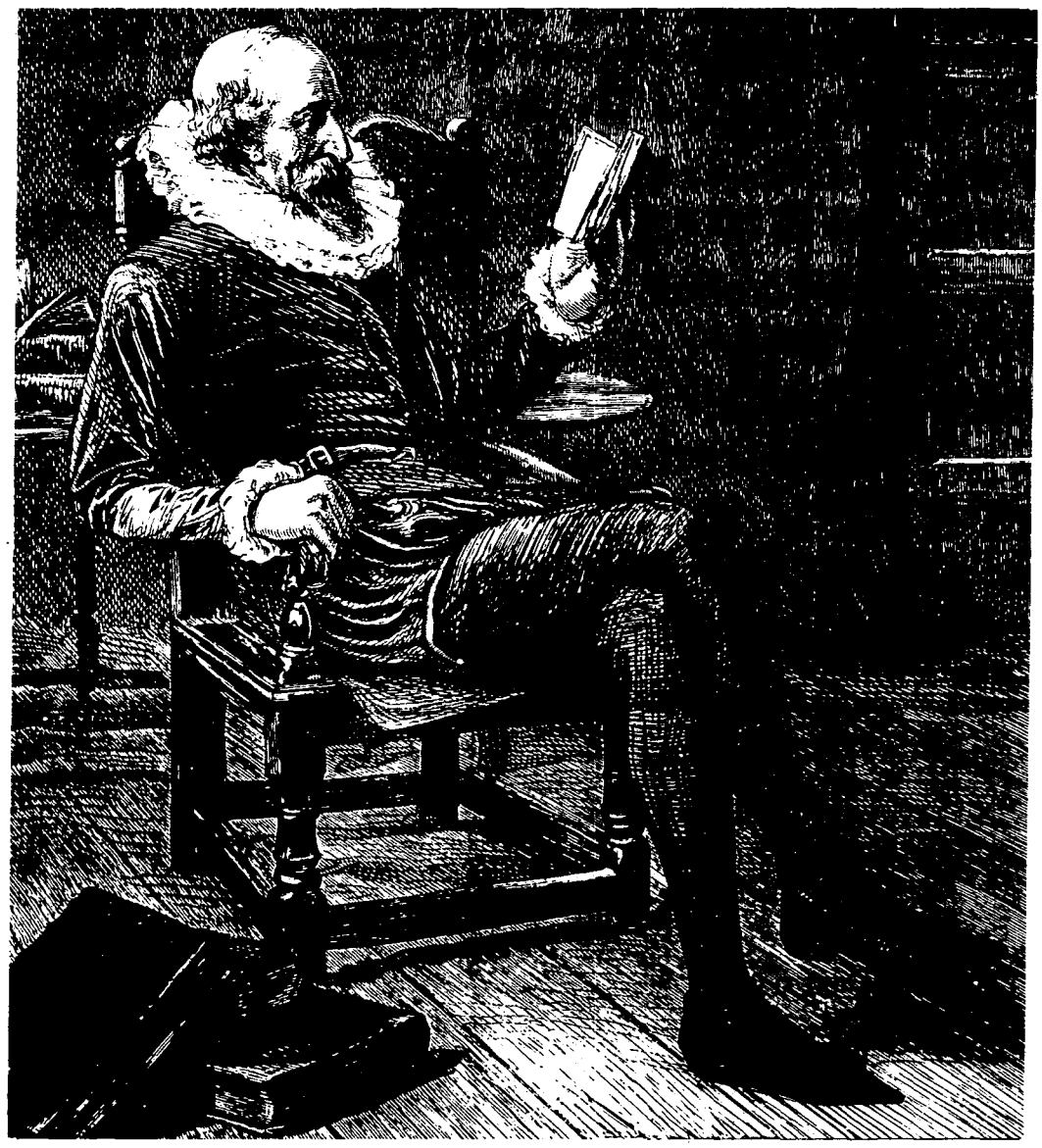
The Nixon administration in early 1969 lifted some of these restraints. At a time when major American troop withdrawals were being planned, the North Vietnamese shelled a number of cities in South Vietnam, in flagrant breach of the pledge that had been the quid pro quo for President Johnson's halt to the bombing of North Vietnam. No one in the Nixon administration was eager to resume the bombing of the North; a less explosive form of retaliation seemed warranted. President Nixon undertook the bombing of the Cambodian sanctuaries in the knowledge that 1) Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's neutralist leader, did not object to American military action against the North Vietnamese bases, and that 2) the risk of harm to Cambodian civilians was minimal.

Shawcross struggles without success to prove that both these propositions were false.

Chester Bowles: The Missing Quotation

Sihanouk was powerless to prevent North Vietnam's expropriation of Cambodian territory for prosecution of the Vietnam war. The Prince went considerably beyond acquiescence, however; he allowed the Communists to ship war materiel to the port of Sihanoukville and then to transport it by a leisurely truck route to the sanctuaries along the border. Even Shawcross describes this (p. 64), and anyone wanting an authoritative account of the active help Sihanouk gave to the North Vietnamese will find it in Sihanouk's recent memoirs.† This would seem to say something about how "neutral" Cambodia was under Sihanouk.

†See Carl Gershman's "Cambodia and the Prince" in the September 1980 *American Spectator*.—Ed.



In fairness to the agile Prince, however, in the late 1960s he began to feel put-upon by the heavy-handed North Vietnamese and tried to square accounts by telling American officials that he would not object at all if the United States attacked the Vietnamese Communist bases and drove them out of Cambodia. He said this to various visitors, one of the most important being Ambassador Chester Bowles, who on January 10, 1968, met with the Prince in Phnom Penh on a mission for President Johnson.

Sihanouk's conversation with Bowles has become controversial. The Nixon administration cited it when the Cambodian bombing became a *cause célèbre* in 1973. Shawcross devotes a great deal of effort to the Bowles mission, attempting to discredit, evade, deny, or dismiss the administration's contention. The reason for this exertion is obvious: If Sihanouk invited us to attack the North Vietnamese bases, then we were defending Cambodia's neutrality, not violating it, and the bombing of Cambodia appears in an entirely different light.

Shawcross pronounces the claim "questionable" (p. 28). For three and a half lengthy pages he walks us through the Bowles mission (pp. 68-71), citing Bowles's State Department briefing papers, Bowles's escort officer's summary report, and Bowles's cables to Washington. Never does Shawcross quote a word of what Sihanouk said to Bowles on the subject. He apologizes that his documentation is incomplete and therefore not "conclusive evidence"; "whether Sihanouk actually told Bowles that the United States was free to bomb the sanctuaries cannot be definitely determined from the sanitized State Department papers," he writes. Nevertheless, Shawcross is confident enough to inform his readers that his documents "suggest that it is not so."

A look at the documents is illuminating. While Shawcross may not have had a verbatim transcript, he had an explicit summary of what Sihanouk said. The State Department escort officer's report of the Bowles mission, which Shawcross received under the Freedom of Information Act, contained evidence that could not be more conclusive, which Shawcross chose to conceal from his readers:

> Then, in one of his amazing reversals [the report read], the Prince said he would not object if the U.S. engaged in "hot pursuit" in unpopulated areas. He could not say this publicly or officially, but if the U.S. followed this course it would help him solve his own problem. Of course, if the U.S. engaged VC/NVA [Vietcong/North Vietnamese Army] forces on Cambodian territory, both sides would be guilty of violating Cambodian soil, but the VC/NVA would be "more guilty" (sic). If we pursued VC forces into remote areas where the population would be unaffected he would "shut his eyes."

The same thing could have been found in Chester Bowles's memoir *Promises to Keep*, published in 1971:

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Later, in a quiet private visit, Sihanouk volunteered that he would not object to the United States' engaging in "hot pursuit" in unpopulated areas of Cambodia. He pointed out that while he could not say this publicly or officially, if the United States followed this course, it might even help him to solve his problem.

Bowles was skeptical, but Sihanouk's position never deviated from this. After the B-52 bombing started in 1969 and was reported in the American press, Sihanouk responded in similar terms publicly: He complained if Cambodians were hurt but did not object if we attacked the Vietnamese Communists who were illegally occupying a portion of his country. Sihanouk drew closer to the United States. In July 1969, four months after the bombing started, he invited President Nixon to pay a visit to Phnom Penh and promised a warm reception. He began to write and speak more openly against the North Vietnamese. This avid observer and barometer of the balance of power now saw the United States as a potent counterweight to the hated North Vietnamese, restoring his country's freedom of action and enhancing—yes, enhancing—its neutrality.

Shawcross's treatment of the Bowles mission is a sham. Kissinger has published part of Sihanouk's verbatim remarks in his memoirs but it adds little to what was already available. In a lecture at Harvard in March 1980, Sihanouk admitted what he said to Bowles. Stephen Young, Assistant Dean of Harvard Law School, heard Sihanouk's lecture and called it "an incredibly significant admission." For "that means that, in the debate that has riven our country for 10 years, Henry Kissinger is right and William Shawcross is all wrong."

What the Chiefs' Memorandum Really Said

Nixon ordered the B-52 bombing of certain North Vietnamese sanctuaries on the Pentagon's assurance, secondly, that attacking them posed minimal danger of Cambodian civilian casualties. The Joint Chiefs of Staff examined 15 North Vietnamese base areas in Cambodia with the explicit mandate, *inter alia,* to consider the risk of harm to civilians. General Earle Wheeler forwarded the results to Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird on April 9, 1969, in a lengthy memorandum with numerous appendices and maps. Only the base areas in which the danger to civilians was found to be "minimal" were recommended for targeting.

This exercise might suggest to an impartial observer that the United States took extraordinary pains to avoid civilian casualties. But not to Shawcross. He quotes from the memorandum in the most selective fashion (*Sideshow,* pp. 28-29) to imply a callous disregard for human life—exactly the opposite of the memorandum's obvious meaning. Shawcross accomplishes this by quoting at length only from the caveats that the memorandum's draftsmen included for the sake of honesty: that all estimates of likely civilian casualties were "tenuous at best," that "some Cambodian casualties" would likely be sustained in certain kinds of military operations, and that the "surprise effect" of attacks could tend to increase the danger, "as could the probable lack of protective shelters around Cambodian homes to the extent that exists in South Vietnam."

On reading the Chiefs' memorandum carefully one finds, first of all, that these acknowledged risks to civilians applied to combined air and ground operations against the sanctuaries, not to aerial attacks on specific military targets ordered by Nixon. What is more, Shawcross acknowledges only in passing what the memorandum emphasized over and over again: that civilian casualties would be "minimal," for the simple and obvious reason that the North Vietnamese did not allow any Cambodians anywhere near their military dispositions. The point was made repeatedly, in passages that Shawcross found inconvenient to call to the reader's attention. For example:

> a. There is very little mixing of the VC/NVA Forces with the Cambodian populace. Conversely, Cambodians rarely go into areas under de facto control of the VC/NVA.
>
> b. Cambodian villages and populated areas are readily identifiable and can be essentially avoided in conducting preplanned operations into the base areas.
>
> c. Very few permanent structures exist in the base areas outside the Cambodian villages. Virtually all those that do exist are enemy-occupied. (JCSM-207-69, 9 April 1969, Appendix E, p.27)

• • •

> [T]he enemy's military forces in Cambodia habitually occupy areas close to the SVN [South Vietnam] border and away from significant Cambodian presence. (Cover memorandum p. 2)

• • •

> Extreme care would be taken to attack only known enemy bases in Cambodia, thus minimizing the risk of engagement with Cambodian forces or of causing Cambodian casualties. (Appendix B, p.8)

The canard that we callously assumed the risk of massive harm to civilians should finally be laid to rest by Prince Sihanouk's recent memoirs. Before the March 1970 coup that overthrew him, Sihanouk writes, the North Vietnamese sanctuaries were "limited to a few outlying and uninhabited sectors along the Cambodia-Vietnam borderline."

There is more to this April 9, 1969 memorandum. It sets out in detail the strategic importance of the enemy sanctuaries and the danger that they presented. Indeed, it is one of the most impressive statements ever made of the case *for* attacking them. For example:

> An appropriate time to undertake operations to destroy an enemy force is subsequent to a contact in which the enemy has been defeated and is withdrawing. It is at this point that the

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enemy force is most disorganized and vulnerable. The option of conducting pursuit operations has essentially been withheld from COMUSMACV [the U.S. Command] because the best place to conduct such operations is against his rallying and collection points in Cambodia.

Authority to conduct pursuit operations to limited depths in Cambodia could result in destruction of enemy units involved as effective fighting forces, and could require the enemy not only to provide filler replacements to regenerate such units but also to provide new cadre leadership. Pursuit operations also could result in capture or destruction of munitions and supplies in the sanctuaries to which enemy forces are withdrawing. Possibly most important of all, however, is the fact that once US/RVNAF [U.S./South Vietnamese] pursuit operations have been undertaken, the enemy would be forced to adjust to the possibility of future pursuit operations, and would not be able to operate in border areas with confidence that sanctuary was available nearby. Reestablishment of bases deeper in Cambodia would be very difficult for the enemy, due to increased visibility and the likelihood of confrontation with the Cambodian populace and forces, the International Control Commission, and the foreign press. . . . It is estimated that, as the enemy reaches his full deployment for the current offensive, and his operations begin to run their course, an opportunity will be presented in the III Corps area to strike a strategic blow of major proportions. If successfully exploited, this blow could change the whole balance of forces in Vietnam, severely curtail enemy capability in the vital III Corps area, and shorten the war. (Appendix C, pp. 23-24)

Shawcross preferred not to call this strategic analysis to his readers' attention.

Base Area 704: The Wrong Box

From the Joint Chiefs' memorandum of April 9, 1969, the White House selected as targets only six base areas minimally populated by civilians. The target areas were given the codenames BREAKFAST, LUNCH, DINNER, SUPPER, SNACK, and DESSERT; the overall program was given the name MENU.

With only six base areas, one might have thought that Shawcross would get it right. But he did not. To his embarrassment, a glaring error was discovered during the taping of David Frost's interview with Henry Kissinger in October 1979. Frost hurled at Kissinger the accusation that the White House ordered hundreds of B-52 attacks against a North Vietnamese base area in Cambodia that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had specifically recommended *against* attacking because it was heavily populated by Cambodians. Frost based the accusation on the following passage in *Sideshow:*

Three of the fifteen sanctuaries—base areas 704, 354 and 707, which had "sizeable concentrations of Cambodian civilian or military population" in or around them—were not recommended for attack at all. . . . The Chiefs' warning seems to have made no difference. Base Area 704 appeared on the White House's Menu as Supper. In the course of events, 247 B-52 missions were flown against it. (p. 29)

The only problem with this is that Base Area 704, because of its sizeable number of civilian inhabitants, was *never* a target of the B-52 bombing. The target area codenamed SUPPER, against which 247 B-52 missions were flown, was Base Area *740* in eastern Cambodia—minimally populated by civilians and about 200 miles away from Base Area 704 which is in southern Cambodia along the Mekong River. Shawcross's assertion that Base Area 704 was attacked by B-52s is totally wrong. The map on page 27 of his book labeling Base Area 704 as target area SUPPER is also wrong.

Shawcross has admitted the error. The map and the relevant pages in his book were redone in subsequent editions. David Frost, informed of the error by Kissinger, was sufficiently embarrassed to request that the taped segment be deleted from the NBC program broadcast on October 11, 1979. It was deleted. But Shawcross was unapologetic. In a letter to Nigel Ryan of NBC News on October 10, 1979, Shawcross acknowledged that his book was wrong—and then offered an explanation as false as the original error. Shawcross excused his mistake on the ground that he had relied on a Defense Department White Paper submitted to the Senate Armed Services Committee in September 1973. This Defense Department statement indeed listed Base Area 704 as one of the six base areas targeted in the MENU program, apparently by a typographical error. What Shawcross failed to mention to NBC News is that he had two documents in his possession making clear that Base Area 740, not 704, was one of the six targets of the B-52 bombing program. A memorandum for Secretary Laird from General Wheeler dated November 20, 1969, recommended "additional" B-52 strikes against Base Area 740 in the MENU series. A similar memorandum of November 25, 1969, again listed Base Area 740 as a MENU target. The first memorandum was published in the Senate Armed Services Committee hearings of 1973 (pp. 151-153), to which *Sideshow* refers frequently; the second memorandum was released to Shawcross in 1977 under the Freedom of Information Act.

A meticulous scholar would have noticed the discrepancy between the 1973 White Paper with the typographical error and the contemporaneous 1969 documents listing Base Area 740 as a MENU target. Had Shawcross noticed the discrepancy he might have guessed that the contemporaneous documents were more authoritative than the after-the-fact summary of 1973. Or he could have checked with the Defense Department, as he did in October 1979, six months after the publication of his book and only after Kissinger pointed out the error. Shawcross did neither. The erroneous figure "proving" American barbarity was too tempting to admit of noticing discrepancies.

It is interesting to read what else the 1969 documents contain. According to the JCS memorandum of November 25, 1969, Base Area 740 contained enemy troop concentrations; anti-aircraft, field artillery, rocket, and mortar positions; eleven North Vietnamese base camps and bivouac areas; two storage areas; road and trail networks including six bridges; as well as numerous bunkers, trenches, and defensive positions —none closer than one and one-half kilometers to any civilian habitation. None of this is mentioned in *Sideshow.*

"Destabilizing" Sihanouk: The Elusive Evidence

Sihanouk was deposed as Cambodian Chief of State on March 18, 1970, by his own government and National Assembly. This set off a chain of events that ultimately engulfed Cambodia in ten years of bloody conflict.

It is an article of faith in anti-American demonology that the United States had a hand in the coup. (In fact, the United States was taken by surprise.) Shawcross naturally pursues this line of enquiry, only to admit in the end that he can find "no direct link" between the U.S. government and the coup plotters (*Sideshow,* p. 112). He would earn credit for his honesty were it not for two paragraphs of thick insinuation that the United States had plenty of motive and its denials must always be suspect, as if only bad luck can account for his failure to unearth the "direct link."

Shawcross then resorts to a more compli-

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cated line of argument to establish American responsibility. Most observers ascribe the coup to Cambodian popular resentment at the continuing North Vietnamese occupation of Cambodian territory tolerated by Sihanouk. Shawcross's thesis is that American B-52 bombings of remote sanctuary areas in 1969-1970 forced the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops to push their supply bases "deeper into the country" and "spread the fighting out from the border areas," thereby disrupting Cambodian politics and "destabilizing" Sihanouk's rule. (*Sideshow*, pp. 35, 95, 113-114)

It is difficult for anyone at this point to reconstruct North Vietnamese movements under the American bombings. Undoubtedly they moved to evade the precisely targeted attacks. The crucial questions are where, and to what extent, and with what traceable consequences. Shawcross's documentary evidence is so weak and so tendentiously handled that it casts serious doubt on whether his thesis holds any water at all.

The first document cited by Shawcross is General Wheeler's memorandum of November 20, 1969, to Secretary Laird, which we saw earlier. Shawcross cites it as evidence for the following:

> . . . in Cambodia, as the Chiefs reported, it [the bombing] forced them to "disperse over a greater area than before." The raids spread the fighting out from the border areas. . . . (*Sideshow*, p. 95)

General Wheeler's memorandum, however, turns out not to refer to "spreading the fighting" at all. It refers rather to the enemy's dispersal of *supplies* "over a greater area than before." And far from endorsing Shawcross's claim that they moved "deeper into Cambodia" into conflicts with Cambodian authorities, the passage describes the North Vietnamese as dispersing supplies, and secondarily personnel, into more *isolated* areas on the immediate periphery of the main base areas, or in between the various base areas, which were strung out along the Vietnamese border. The passage cited by Shawcross actually reads:

> Supplies have been dispersed over a greater area than before; and supplies have been moved into densely covered, unstruck areas. This tends to be confirmed by the increased activity noted since mid-October approximately mid-way between Base Areas 350 and 351. . . . However, even with his increased dispersal of personnel and supplies, the enemy continues to use portions of his old areas. (Wheeler memorandum, 20 November 1969, quoted in the 1973 Senate hearings, p. 152)

Thus the source cited by Shawcross is not only irrelevant to his main point but in direct contradiction to it. His use of the document is either deceptive or notably inept.

But there is more. Shawcross then invents a phony quotation from General Creighton Abrams:

> To escape the bombardment [Shawcross writes], the Vietnamese Communists had begun to move deeper into Cambodia—"thus," as Abrams later acknowledged to the Senate, "bringing them into increasing conflict with the Cambodian authorities." . . . The effect was inevitable. . . . Sihanouk's balance of right against left became more precarious. The bombing was destabilizing him. (*Sideshow*, p. 113)

It turns out that the quoted words attributed to General Abrams in testimony to the Senate Armed Services Committee were spoken in reality by Senator Stuart Symington. In a book so fawned over for its scholarship, this is remarkable sleight of hand. Senator Symington put forward the proposition that U.S. bombings and ground probes from South Vietnam must have induced the North Vietnamese "to expand their areas of control or operations, thus bringing them into increasing conflict with the Cambodian authorities." Abrams indeed "acknowledged" this in the vaguest terms ("Yes, I think that is a fair statement"). Unfortunately we do not have General Abrams's own analysis because Senator Symington moved to a different subject. Nor is it likely that the Army Chief of Staff would tell a powerful senator on the Armed Services Committee that he was full of baloney. And neither General Abrams nor Senator Symington even touched upon the two central steps in Shawcross's argument: that the bombing drove the Vietnamese and the war "deeper into Cambodia" and was responsible for undermining Sihanouk's government. The Abrams/Symington exchange, even if quoted honestly, does not establish the crucial points.

The claim of North Vietnamese "spreading in Cambodia" is repeated in another passage shortly thereafter. This time Shawcross invokes an article published in Sihanouk's monthly journal *Le Sangkum* in October 1969 written by Sihanouk's Prime Minister and Defense Minister, Marshal Lon Nol:

> . . . their spread [Shawcross writes] was due [in Lon Nol's words] to flooding and to "the operational pressure exerted by their adversary," that is, to clearing operations by American and South Vietnamese troops. (*Sideshow*, p. 114)

Lon Nol was writing of incidents of conflict between the North Vietnamese and Cambodian troops, thus confirming what General Abrams "acknowledged" to Senator Symington. But rather remarkable in this article, seven months after the beginning of the MENU bombing, is the absence of any reference to North Vietnamese "spreading" and, indeed, the complete absence of any mention of the U.S. bombing. Lon Nol is describing a totally different cause and a totally different effect. He writes of the increase in numbers (*accroissement*) of Vietnamese Communist forces *in* their base areas—not the spreading *out* of these bases. And he blames not the enemy's flight from American bombing in Cambodia but the enemy's withdrawal (*repli*) from South Vietnam, made necessary (as Shawcross notes) by American and South Vietnamese clearing operations *in South Vietnam*. Seven months after the bombing began, if Shawcross is to be believed, the Cambodian government should have complained of the American bombing as the cause of disruption and "destabilization" that Shawcross is so eager to prove. Yet Sihanouk and Lon Nol saw the menace elsewhere; they placed the condemnation precisely where it belonged. The article was entitled: "The Implantations of Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Along Our Frontier."

Shawcross has been backtracking lately, writing in a recent *Harper's* that the movement of North Vietnamese "deeper into the country" may not have been very extensive but that "a few miles deeper" was enough to disrupt Cambodia's political equilibrium. Considering how much of the weight of Shawcross's entire argument rests on this complicated syllogism, it is striking how weak is the evidentiary basis for it. (Even the map on page 27 of *Sideshow* showing the Communist base areas in the 1969-70 period offers no indication of any change in their location or extent over those two years.) Prince Sihanouk is rather

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more honest, telling the Cambodia Affairs Institute in Washington ten years after his overthrow: "If I lost my *Fauteuil presidentiel* and my Chamcar Mon Palace in Phnom Penh to Marshal Lon Nol who occupied them for five years, it was because I tremendously helped the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese."

North Vietnamese Assault on Cambodia: The Missing Month of April

Like Sherlock Holmes's dog that didn't bark, the most striking distortion in *Sideshow* is an epic event in Cambodian history that is simply omitted from the book.

The new Cambodian government, even before it stripped Sihanouk of his powers, formally asked the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong in mid-March 1970 to vacate their Cambodian sanctuaries. The North Vietnamese responded with the humanitarianism for which they are renowned: They invaded the rest of Cambodia. Sweeping out of their bases along the border, they attacked and overran Cambodian military outposts, Cambodian towns, Cambodian roads, and Cambodian river communications all over the eastern half of the country, linking their scattered sanctuaries into one massive continuous base area aimed at South Vietnam and advancing westward on Phnom Penh, surrounding and menacing the capital with the evident intention of intimidating the new government into passivity, surrender, or collapse.

It was this wholesale North Vietnamese assault on eastern Cambodia, beginning in late March 1970, that plunged Cambodia into the Indochina war for the first time. To be sure, the remote sanctuaries along the border had been the subject of North Vietnamese occupation and American counterattacks; there had been occasional local incidents between North Vietnamese and Cambodian authorities. But Cambodia had never been at war; the Cambodian armed forces had never before been belligerents in full-scale hostilities. The North Vietnamese changed all that. It was after a month of these assaults that the United States and South Vietnam launched the so-called Cambodian incursion on April 30 to block the North Vietnamese and to protect American and South Vietnamese lives against the vast new North Vietnamese military base ballooning over all of eastern Cambodia.

The reader turns eagerly to *Sideshow* to see what this brilliantly comprehensive investigative reporter has to say on the subject of this North Vietnamese invasion. Nothing. Absolutely nothing. There is but one disingenuous descriptive sentence, ascribing only defensive motives to the North Vietnamese:

> [T]he North Vietnamese moved westward into Cambodia with the apparent intention of securing their lines of communication. (*Sideshow*, p. 130)

There are one or two oblique references elsewhere in *Sideshow* that would indeed require Sherlock Holmes to piece them together and deduce that something was going on. It is not that Shawcross lacked information. Under the Freedom of Information Act, he had, for example, an important cable of April 21, 1970, in which Acting Chairman of the Joint Chiefs General William Westmoreland informed General Abrams in Saigon of the fact that Phnom Penh was surrounded and threatened:

> As you are certainly aware, there is highest level concern here with respect to the situation in Cambodia. This concern has been heightened by the following:
>
> a. It appears that the success of NVA and VC troops to date have encouraged them to expand what may have been limited objectives initially to a current drive to isolate Phnom Penh.
>
> b. Most lines of communication leading into Phnom Penh from the north, east, and south have been interdicted by enemy forces and the security of Phnom Penh and the Cambodian Government appears to be seriously threatened. (JCS 05495, 21 April 1970)

The North Vietnamese were systematically interdicting all the major roads and waterways that led into Phnom Penh, cutting off the highways particularly to the north, east, and south of the city and blocking traffic on the Mekong River that was the city's lifeline. This North Vietnamese assault would seem to have little to do with "securing their lines of communication," as *Sideshow* fatuously claims, but a great deal to do with strangling the lines of communication of the Cambodian capital.

None of this is to be found in *Sideshow*. Shawcross prefers to regard the U.S.-South Vietnamese incursion as gratuitous and unprovoked, explained by the psychic aberrations of the Nixon administration: "the White House's truculence," Nixon's eagerness for "restoring his slighted authority" after domestic setbacks, "negligent and emotional decision making," and other ad hominem imputations of pathological aggression (pp. 130ff). The whole month of April is practically missing from the book—except for minor *American* actions after mid-April, without reference to the North Vietnamese attacks to which they were a response.

When Kissinger described these North Vietnamese attacks in his book and the David Frost interview, Shawcross took evasive action. His first response was to claim that Kissinger's account of the North Vietnamese assault was an afterthought: "[A]t the time of the [U.S.-South Vietnamese] invasion, neither Nixon nor Kissinger mentioned these moves or used them to justify American actions," *Newsweek* reported him as claiming. Yet no one could possibly read the Nixon administration's public statements of the time—April 30, June 3, June 30, 1970; February 25, 1971—and not find that the North Vietnamese invasion of eastern Cambodia was *the* reason for the allied military operations of April 30, 1970. Shawcross later retreated to the narrower assertion that "many" of the individual clashes listed in Kissinger's book "have never been mentioned before,

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neither in Nixon's announcement of the invasion, nor anywhere else." This is ridiculous. The *New York Times* reported the rapid advance of the North Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia throughout the period and published a map on April 18, 1970, showing them already in control of a third of the country. If Kissinger's is indeed the most detailed and comprehensive description of the events of 1970—which it is—how this is a criticism of the Kissinger book is not obvious.

Shawcross's other tack has been to claim that Hanoi's *intention* in devouring eastern Cambodia in March-April 1970 "has never been proven" and has always been in dispute. The assertions that Hanoi really sought to topple the Cambodian regime, Shawcross now says, "have no basis in reality." This is first of all false and second of all a curious line of argument. Presumably it is possible to invade a country, occupy a third of it, lay siege to its capital, and yet claim sufficient ambiguity about one's motives to render any countermeasures not only unwarranted but immoral. The only account in *Sideshow,* remember, is that the North Vietnamese moved westward to "secur[e] their lines of communication."

What is the evidence? Shawcross certainly had enough documentation to show that the American government at the highest levels had good reason to believe the worst about North Vietnamese intentions. Witness Westmoreland's message of April 21, 1970, that Phnom Penh was surrounded, quoted above, not to mention all of Sihanouk's public statements including his March 23, 1970, five-point declaration calling for the overthrow of the Lon Nol government, and the declarations of solidarity from the North Vietnamese, Viet Cong, and Pathet Lao. On the ground, the North Vietnamese efforts to establish (and dominate) the insurgency aroused the resentment of, among others, the Khmer Rouge (the Cambodian Communists, who came to power in their own right five years later). The "Black Book" issued by the Khmer Rouge (Pol Pot) regime in September 1978 recounts:

> After the coup d'etat, of March 18th 1970, the [North] Vietnamese organized their nationals living in Kampuchea, they armed them and used them as particularly ferocious instruments of oppression against the people of Kampuchea. . . . [The North Vietnamese] secretly organized a shadow national administration in Kampuchea, particularly in the north-east zone. . . . [They] organized a secret shadow army in Kampuchea. . . .

This was published seven months before *Sideshow* appeared but Shawcross does not refer to it.

Among North Vietnamese documents captured by the allies in the post-April 30 sweep through the sanctuaries were guidebooks for the organizing (by the North Vietnamese) of the Sihanouk-proclaimed "National United Front of Cambodia" (FUNK) at the hamlet and village level to take power after the overthrow of the Lon Nol government; directives pledging support by North Vietnamese cadre and armed forces for the FUNK; soldiers' notebooks detailing North Vietnamese activity in forming and training guerrilla units; military staff notebooks on the formation of Cambodian units led by North Vietnamese cadre and of signal battalions, and so on. This is public knowledge.

Even *Sideshow* contains a damaging admission by Shawcross that "a government dominated by Hanoi" was the probable outcome if the United States did nothing (p. 165). Nor have any of Shawcross's emotional rebuttals to the Kissinger book even addressed one of its most important revelations: that in secret talks with North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho on April 4, 1970, Kissinger proposed joint diplomatic steps to guarantee the neutralization of Cambodia. Le Duc Tho contemptuously dismissed the offer and insisted on the overthrow of the new Cambodian government.

It was the North Vietnamese assault of March-April 1970 that plunged Cambodia into war, whatever *Sideshow*'s evasions. In 1979, four years after the Khmer Rouge victory, the North Vietnamese invaded Cambodia again, demonstrating that the heirs of Ho Chi Minh never had the slightest intention of tolerating a truly independent Cambodia, even an independent *Communist* Cambodia.

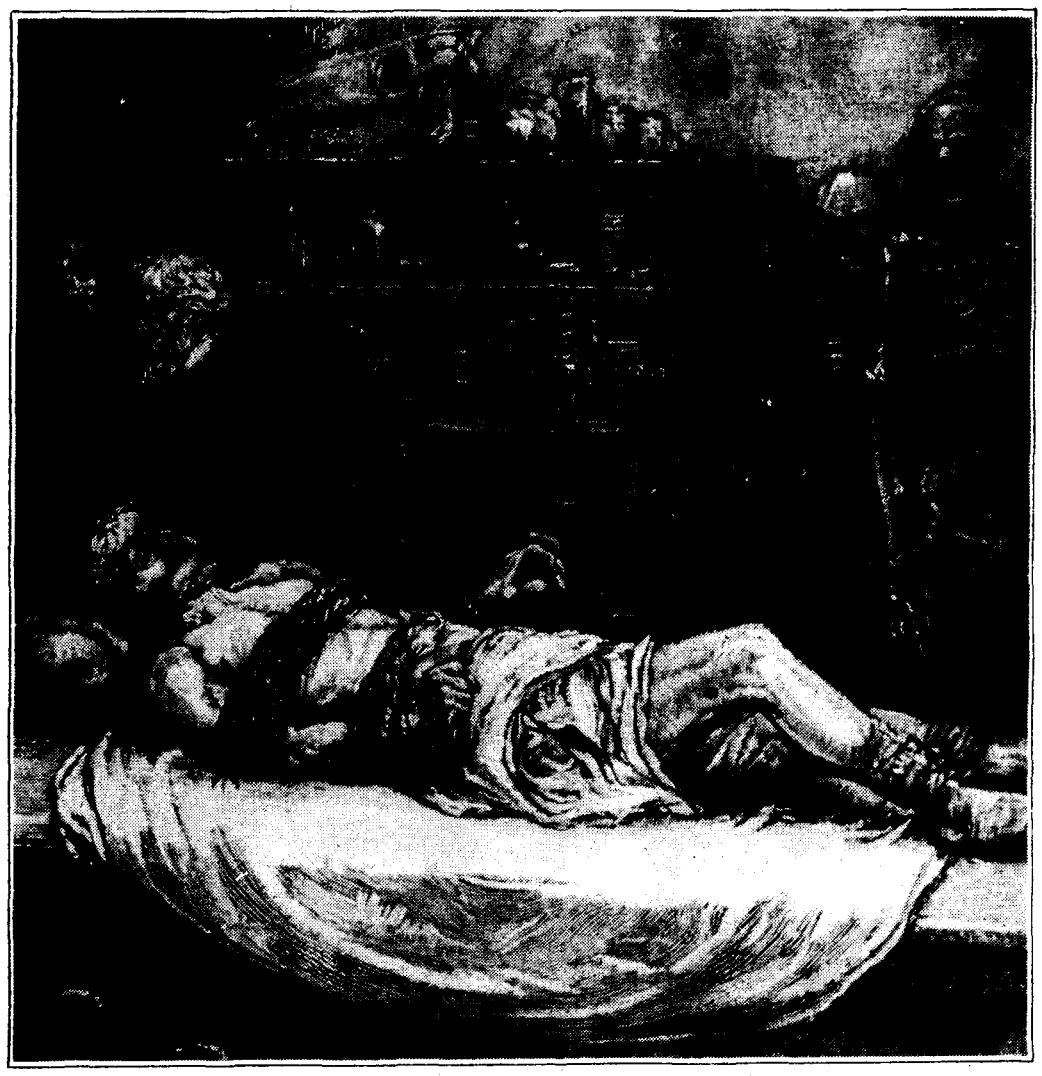
The Strangulation of the Cambodian Army

The Cambodian Army resisted the assault of the North Vietnamese and Khmer Rouge for five years, succumbing finally in April 1975. Their struggle was prey to a host of difficulties: poor organization and logistics; lack of training and the technical know-how to maintain and use equipment; petty corruption; and the progressive, Congressionally mandated withdrawal of American military support—from the 1970 ban on U.S. advisers, to the 1973 halt of U.S. air operations, to the 1975 strangulation of military supplies. Pentagon accounts document this well, and Shawcross under the FOIA had access to two of the best: the end-of-tour reports of two American officers who headed the Military Equipment Delivery Team in Cambodia (MEDTC), Major General John Cleland and his successor, Brigadier General William W. Palmer.

These accounts are quite moving, but Shawcross suppresses their principal points and turns the documents totally on their head. By quoting selectively he develops a tendentious thesis of his own to explain Cambodia's failure. He dismisses the generals' own analysis (without informing his readers of its contents) in a crude ad hominem attack:

> These reports must be read with caution, since each man was anxious to promote his own career in the Army despite the Cambodian debacle. Each, therefore, was concerned to attach all blame to the Cambodians and refused to analyze carefully the effect of his own work in Phnom Penh. (*Sideshow*, p. 312)

Shawcross second-guesses the American



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strategy and blames Generals Cleland and Palmer for the disaster that befell the Khmer National Armed Forces (FANK):

> Cleland explained the rationale—and, unconsciously, its serious implications—in his end-of-tour report: "The FANK depend on firepower to win. Seldom has FANK outmaneuvered the enemy—he has outgunned him." But his own actions made this inevitable; instead of improving the intrinsic fighting quality of Lon Nol's troops, Cleland created a fatal new dependency in them. By mid-1974 fully 87 percent of all American military aid was being spent on ammunition. If the Congress began to cut back aid or if the Khmer Rouge closed all lines of communication, then the government's troops would be deprived of "the quickfix" (to use another Cleland expression) which the Americans had thrust upon them. Both these things did happen and each contributed toward making the fall of the regime inevitable. (*Sideshow*, p. 313)

Shawcross's military critique is utterly disingenuous. Generals Palmer and Cleland stress an obvious and totally different point: that Congressional restrictions made any other strategy impossible. The ban on U.S. advisers meant that there was no possibility of "improving the intrinsic fighting quality of Lon Nol's troops," as Shawcross professes to recommend; escalating legislative prohibitions deprived the Cambodians of what assets they had. Shawcross is not really recommending an alternative approach to assistance; his argument is that no assistance should have been given the Cambodians in the first place. He faults the Congress, indeed, but only for the degree to which it acceded to admistration requests at all. (*Sideshow*, p. 350)

General Palmer's end-of-tour report, for example, makes poignantly clear how even the minimum objective of achieving a military stalemate (for purposes of negotiation) was rendered impossible because the Cambodian Army's few advantages over the enemy were eroded by the progressive reduction of American aid. It is a powerful account that Shawcross understandably did not want his readers to see:

> (1) *Congressional Restrictions*
> In January 1971, the Cooper-Church Amendment specifically prohibited "advisors" in Cambodia. The Symington-Case Amendment of February 1972 prescribed that the total number of U.S. personnel in Cambodia should not exceed 200. In view of the U.S. Vietnam experience, the intent of these restrictions is understandable. However, their cumulative effect was to severely limit any MEDTC ability to ensure that millions of dollars in MAP [Military Assistance Program] funds were being well spent. FANK was provided modern equipment but was denied the overall training, technical know-how, and military professionalism desperately needed to modernize it in the areas of tactical leadership, staff planning and coordination, personnel and financial management or logistics operations. Proper management and effective use of the equipment provided was apparently to be learned by a trial and error, do-it-yourself process which time would not permit.
>
> Lacking any authority to provide in-country advice or U.S. training, any improvement in FANK leadership was predicated on almost non-existent Khmer initiatives since American officers were too restricted to assist. (Palmer Report, 30 April 1975, Part One, IV/B (1))

• • •

> (2) *Reliance on Firepower*
> FANK was originally conceived as a "light infantry force" designed to fight "Khmer Insurgents." When it became apparent that the "insurgents" were rapidly evolving into main force units in their own right, the U.S. objective of keeping FANK alive and the GKR [Government of the Khmer Republic] viable was assured through the quick-fix of massive U.S. airpower. With the U.S. bombing halt in August 1973, the Khmer Army artillery and tactical air inventories were augmented because this solution provided less expensive and politically more palatable sources of firepower to offset the leadership and manpower deficiencies in the Khmer Armed Forces. As that firepower was increasingly denied to them because of escalating munitions costs and reduced funding, the only remaining option appeared to be manpower.
>
> However the Army's inability even to maintain the strength of its intervention brigades, let alone achieve significant growth, soon became self-evident. Moreover, serious leadership and training deficiencies, combined with the absence of any U.S. advisory or training effort, obviated major changes in the Khmer force structure, battle tactics or doctrinal reliance on firepower, even if sufficient time had been available.
>
> In sum, the U.S. taught the Khmer Armed Forces to survive through firepower. FANK was equipped with the means to employ it in large amounts. Outside sources of firepower were withdrawn so that they relied solely on their own firepower assets. Firepower and the logistics to support it became the two most important advantages FANK had over the KC [Khmer Communists], and by 1974 it was too late to change that orientation to any extent in the short term. Therefore, as escalating prices drove munitions costs progressively higher, increasing rather than decreasing levels of MAP funding were necessary to promote successful achievement of U.S. objectives in Cambodia. (Part One, IV/B (2))

Feeling Sorry for the Khmer Rouge

Shawcross at least acknowledges the genocidal brutality of the Khmer Rouge after they took power, in contrast to other prophets of the Left who still consider the charges to be imperialist propaganda. But Shawcross nevertheless excuses the atrocities by another line of argument: that they were all America's fault. Apologetics nonetheless. His book is not subtitled "The Khmer Rouge and the Destruction of Cambodia," but "Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia."

The viciousness of the Khmer Rouge he attributes to a paroxysm of vengeance, a seizure of "Manichean fear" induced by the severe "punishment" inflicted upon them in the years of their struggle—that is to say, by American and Cambodian efforts to resist them. This is one of the central theses of his book, and for it he offers no documentation whatsoever:

> All wars are designed to arouse anger, and almost all soldiers are taught to hate and to dehumanize their enemy. Veterans of the combat zone are often possessed of a mad rage to destroy, and to avenge their fallen comrades. It does not always happen, however, that victorious armies have endured such punishment as was inflicted upon the Khmer Rouge. Nor does it always happen that such an immature and tiny force comes to power after its country's social order has been obliterated, and the nation faces the danger of takeover by a former ally, its ancient enemy. In Cambodia that did take place. In the last eight years, degree, law, moderation had been forsworn. The war and the causes for which it was fought had brought desolation while nurturing and then giving power to a little group of zealots sustained by Manichean fear. (*Sideshow*, p. 389)

It is enough to make one feel sorry for the poor Khmer Rouge. How perfectly natural that they would up and murder three million of their own people! This is, of course, ridiculous. Most soldiers in combat have "endured . . . punishment" but none before have murdered a third of the population of their country after the war was over.

American bombing had ended twenty months before they came to power. The evacuation of Phnom Penh was planned months before. The savagery was systematic—forced dispersal of whole populations; destruction of traditional social structures, organized religion, and even the family; forced collectivization of agriculture; liquidation of the middle class and civil service; police terror—and it was all standard Khmer Rouge practice in all the areas they controlled in Cambodia from as early as *1971*. The genocide was premeditated, motivated by ideology, and the work of political fanatics. And the definitive evidence for this is found in Shawcross's own sources.

One of the best is *Cambodia: Year*

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Zero‡ by François Ponchaud, a French Jesuit who lived through the early horrific phases of the Khmer Rouge victory. Ponchaud is a friend of Shawcross and no defender of American policy; nevertheless his book shows a clarity about Khmer Rouge motivations that Shawcross seems to have deliberately avoided. Shawcross cites Ponchaud extensively but never the passages stressing the ideological premeditation of Khmer Rouge policies dating back at least to 1972. Ponchaud writes, for example (emphases added):

> [A]ccusing foreigners cannot acquit the present leaders of Kampuchea: *their inflexible ideology had led them to invent a radically new kind of man in a radically new society*. A fascinating revolution for all who aspire to a new social order. A terrifying one for all who have any respect for human beings. (p. xvi)

• • •

> So we must look elsewhere for an explanation of the deportation from Phnom Penh. The official reasons certainly had something to do with the decision to clear the city, but they do not seem sufficient. *The deeper reason was an ideological one,* as we later saw clearly when we learned that the provincial towns, villages, and even isolated farms in the countryside had also been emptied of their inhabitants.
>
> *The evacuation of Phnom Penh follows traditional Khmer revolutionary practice:* ever since *1972* the guerrilla fighters had been sending all the inhabitants of the villages and towns they occupied into the forest to live, often burning their homes so they would have nothing to come back for. A massive, total operation such as this reflects a new concept of society, in which there is no place even for the idea of a city. The towns of Cambodia had grown up around marketplaces; Phnom Penh itself owed its expansion to French colonialism, Chinese commerce, and the bureaucracy of the monarchy, followed by that of the republic. All this had to be swept away and an egalitarian rural society put in its place. (p. 21)

• • •

> On April 17, 1975, a society collapsed; another is now being born from the fierce drive of a revolution which is incontestably the most radical ever to take place in so short a time. *It is a perfect example of the application of an ideology pushed to the furthest limit of its internal logic.* (p.192)

Shawcross had another important source as well: a U.S. government study by Foreign Service Officer Kenneth M. Quinn. From interviews with refugees fleeing Cambodia in 1973 and 1974, Quinn pieced together a detailed description of Khmer Rouge totalitarian practices and shows that they began in some areas in late 1971. Shawcross cites some of Quinn's account (pp. 321-322) but leaves the impression that it all dates from 1974. Another source, a Cambodian intellectual, is quoted at length in reference to the 1972-73 period, but all the quotes describe Khmer Rouge organizational structure and political indoctrination, including their "respect for 'the ways of the people.'" (pp. 251-255)

The distortion is calculated. American bombing reached its peak in the spring of 1973. The evidence of Father Ponchaud and Kenneth Quinn that the Khmer Rouge were totalitarian thugs in 1971 and 1972 contradicts the thesis that Shawcross struggles mightily but in vain to prove: that it was American bombing that turned the Khmer Rouge into butchers.

• • •

Sideshow is filled with countless other errors and distortions. On one page he asserts that "no Communist offensive had been launched" when the secret bombing began in 1969; yet the preceding page had quoted from a North Vietnamese document hailing the Communist spring offensive of 1969 because it killed more Americans than the Tet offensive of 1968 (pp. 109-111). His tendentious account of the role of the U.S. Embassy in the bombing procedures of 1973 (pp. 272-277) relies on a Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff report that is itself wildly erroneous. His chapters on alleged "missed opportunities" to negotiate a settlement are undercut by the mountain of evidence that the North Vietnamese and later the Khmer Rouge rejected all American and Cambodian overtures to compromise.••

As a work of history the book is worthless. It is an elegant polemic in which scrupulous regard for evidence has been swept aside by political bias and emotional compulsion. Its elaborate documentation is impressive only if one has not seen the original documents. To understand it, one must leave historiography and explore the realm of psychiatry.

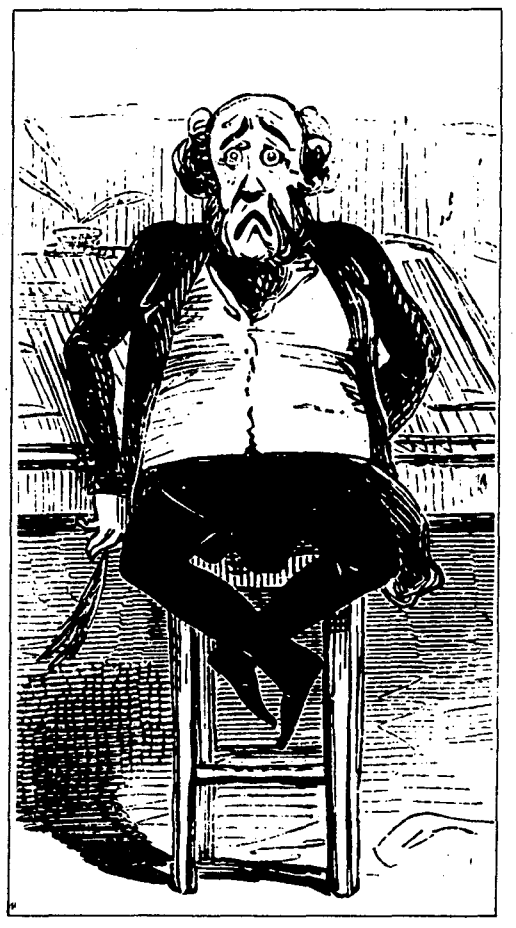
The antiwar movement's temptation to gloat at the long-predicted collapse of the "corrupt" anti-Communist regimes of Indochina was quickly stilled by the tales of holocaust that emerged from Cambodia. (The "boat people" of Vietnam and the poison-gas campaign to exterminate the Hmong in Laos came a bit later.) For antiwar critics had assured us beforehand that the collapse of the Lon Nol government would end the killing and be a blessing for the Cambodian people. "What future possibility could be more terrible than the reality of what is happening to Cambodia now?" asked Anthony Lewis on March 17, 1975, urging a cutoff of American aid. Abandoning the Cambodian government was "for the good of the suffering Cambodians themselves," the *Los Angeles Times* assured us on April 11. "Indochina Without Americans: For Most, a Better Life," was the headline of a piece in the *New York Times* on April 13, datelined Phnom Penh. Its author, Sydney Schanberg, had comforted us a month before with a report that the Khmer Rouge would be more moderate after victory and that fears of a bloodbath were unfounded. These predictions turned out to be horribly wrong. The people of Cambodia paid the price. But there were no recriminations in America. The administration was stuck with a failed policy, and its opponents were understandably sheepish at the results of an outcome they had long urged.

Then along came Shawcross. Vietnam critics could now "resist all attempts to make them feel guilty for the stand they took against the war," as Stanley Hoffmann urged them in an enthusiastic review. Shawcross was a godsend. How psychologically comforting to have in hand a convoluted theory and purported evidence that *American* government decisions were the propelling force behind the horrible events after all. How politically convenient to be able to focus responsibility on a Republican administration for the most gruesome outcome of a failed military commitment begun under two liberal Democratic Presidents.

But it was too convenient to be true. The book's evidentiary basis is shoddy and deceitful. By no stretch of moral logic can the crimes of mass murderers be ascribed to those who struggled to prevent their coming into power. One hopes that no craven sophistry will ever induce free peoples to accept the doctrine that Shawcross embodies: that resistance to totalitarianism is immoral. So whatever the book's value as psychotherapy, as a history of Cambodia it is a joke. And as political apologetics it is obscene. □

‡Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978.

••The "Black Book" published by the Pol Pot regime in September 1978 reveals the reason: The Khmer Rouge resisted all pressures for a cease-fire in 1972-73 because "if the Kampuchean revolution had accepted a cease-fire it would have collapsed." Later they rejected a compromise because they smelled victory. This will not be found in *Sideshow*.



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Taki

UGLY WOMEN

A treatise on ugliness.

Remember the old joke about the Russian diplomat visiting New York and having a prostitute sent to his room courtesy of his contacts at Amnesty International? The Soviet biggie starts to undress her, but as soon as he has a glimpse of her calf he complains about the lack of hair. "What, no wool?" he moans. He gets more annoyed when he realizes that she even shaves her armpits. "Why no wool? I like wool," he keeps repeating. Finally, after his groaning has reached a fever pitch, the hooker has had enough. She turns toward the representative of the United Soviet Socialist Republic and tells him: "Hey Bud, what do you want to do, knit or f--k?"

I used to think this joke was funny, and indicative of the ugliness of Russian women, whom I always considered among the ugliest, if not the ugliest in the world. As painful as this confession may be, however, I must admit that I was wrong. And as if this weren't enough, guess who I have concluded are the ugliest? Yes, horror of horrors, the Americans. As incredible as it may sound, my opinion is based on scientific research, not emotions. After all, my anti-Communist credentials are impeccable.* But before anyone starts to throw stones, let me explain how I arrived at my findings.

It is an accepted fact that true beauty is a combination of body and spirit. Just as true is the fact that a woman lacking femininity cannot possibly be considered beautiful in the true and classical sense of the word. In fact I'll go further than that. A good figure and regular features detract from, rather than enhance, the appearance of a woman lacking femininity. How does one define femininity? Easy. A feminine woman possesses qualities which make her as different from a man psychologically as she is physically. That is, she is passive, cunning, patient, motherly, a homebody, monogamous, etc. Furthermore, a feminine woman defines herself almost exclusively by her relationship to man, and is sculpted accordingly. If this sounds far-fetched, it shouldn't. Four-hundred million years of field experiments have proved that the female is sculpted differently from the male for the above reasons.

Thus the human's closest species, the macaque, is bigger than his female counterpart, stronger, and the one who decides if and where they will move their breeding grounds. The male will respond to outside dangers, while the female remains unconcerned. She will continue feeding the young or grooming herself while the male stalks the enemy. She knows the male is responsible.

Does this sound familiar? Of course it does. That's how it was until a few ugly women who could not get men to like them decided to change something that is as unchangeable as, well, for lack of a better example, man and woman. John Aspinall, the English sage who breeds wild animals in his two private zoos in Kent, believes that a woman's trust consolidates the man's dominance. Without it, the male tends to lose his masculinity. One does not have to be a scientist or an anthropologist to see that this makes sense. Look what is happening now. Ever since women decided not to trust men, that men were almost expendable, there has been a marked increase in pederasty. The phenomenon has been widely observed.

Aspinall contends that every male has a 70 to 30 percent hormone count. Seventy percent male hormones, thirty percent female. Every female is the opposite. (Again, before anyone starts to shout, these are rough estimates. Exact figures are for jargon-artists trying to mislead through statistics.) As the state has taken over the male (or father) role, the male species has come to feel disrobed, his position usurped. The only function left to him by the omnipotent state is to pay bills and attend to the occasional derelict relative. Even his old familiar role as warrior has been challenged. Some women, although I doubt their hormone count is 70 to 30, now try to compete by being soldiers. America now has 44 percent more female soldiers than all the world's other armies combined.

Which brings us to the subject of why some women are unique. Like Mrs. Thatcher, whose male hormone count has risen dramatically ever since she found herself surrounded by males without enough male hormones. Looking at the state of Small Britain today I am not surprised. Mrs. Thatcher, unlike Cleopatra or Elizabeth I or Catherine the Great, all of of whom inherited their fathers' dynastic strength, entered a vacuum left by males suffering from a very low testosterone count. (Socialists, trade union leaders, intellectuals, are notoriously effete.)

Mull this over for a while, and I believe you will agree that despite outward appearances a woman can be truly ugly. Take Jane Fonda and Shirley MacLaine. That harshness, those granite glares, the shrillness of their rhetoric—it makes one want to shriek at their ugliness. This is less true when one is confronted with the ruins of remarkable ugliness, as in the case of Lillian Hellman. (See what I mean about good figures and regular features detracting from rather than enhancing one's appearance? Hellman's revolting features do not make her any uglier than her ugly rhetoric and pathetic lies. In Fonda's case and MacLaine's, they do.)

Maggie Scarf, the female science writer, has proved beyond any reasonable doubt that John Bowlby's "attachment theory" is correct. Bowlby, an Englishman, says that a female needs to connect through emotional bonding. This she manages through a behavioral mechanism, a trait

In the middle 1970s Taki Theodoracopulos waged a private war against the KGB and those responsible for exposing the identity of CIA agents. As a consequence, an embarrassed Greek government imposed a jail sentence which could have put him in the cooler for two years had he not absconded on his yacht Bushido. *He now lives immodestly in London, New York, and Switzerland, where he writes for the* Spectator *of London,* Esquire, *and* National Review.

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that has found its way into the female genetic code. Scarf points out that emotional bonding, once a key to survival for the weaker sex, now causes nothing but trouble as women are caught between the demands of their genes—to be feminine, obedient, married—and a society telling them that they are equal and independent. Feminists are not only making women become uglier, but unhappier as well. Feminism is a brutal hoax.

So, now that we have established once and for all that America's liberated women are the ugliest, precisely which of these ugliest is ugliest? Bearing in mind that I am far more experienced in esteeming European and Middle Eastern women, I will attempt a short—and certainly incomplete—list for the loyal readers of *The American Spectator*. But remember. It is not important who is ugliest, but what makes her ugly.

Not to include leading Women libbers among the ugliest would be like leaving the corn out of Kansas. Gloria Steinem, Marge Piercy, Adrienne Rich, Phyllis Chesler, Susan Brownmiller, the aforementioned Fonda and Warren Beatty's sister, as well as some others too ugly for me to want to recall. Then there are Bella Abzug and Diane Von Furstenberg, that nice Jewish girl from Belgium who married her gay prince and made millions selling clothes under his name, though she now tells us that electing Ronald Reagan was a crime. (Diane recently wrote a letter† asking in a rhetorical manner what happened to the generation of the 1968 barricades. She is referring to the Paris riots. Unfortunately for her she includes herself in that generation. Even more unfortunate for her is the fact that I remember what she did during the time of the barricades. She drove with me to Geneva because Regine's had closed down and she needed to hook her future husband. So much for the angry young woman.) Let me also add Kate Millet, Shirley Chisholm, Barbra Streisand. The list is endless.

But it is not long enough. The more I think on it the longer the list becomes. But not long enough to prevent the American male from making a comeback. All he has to do is try to behave a bit more like his ancestor, the macaque. Put the little woman on a pedestal, spoil her by protecting her, not by taking any back talk. Oppress her. She'll love it. Force her to be obedient and feminine and even her genetic traits will start responding again. That will bring her instant happiness. Even the bills will be reduced, what without valium to buy and shrinks to pay. Be jealous. Nothing works like a little bit of jealousy to bolster the female ego.

Finally, never be brutal, but be very firm. The Japanese beat their wives symbolically every day on the assumption that even if they don't know why they do it, their wives will understand. Japanese women—with the exception of Yoko Ono—have always been extremely happy. Let's take an example from the land of the rising sun. If Detroit had we wouldn't be in the economic mess we're in today. Ditto where sex is concerned. And I know that Americans prefer sex to cars. □

†See "Current Wisdom," p. 43.

John Nollson

WENTON DARLIE IN TRANSITION

Faithful readers of the daily press have had a hard time keeping up with the struggle for power that has been raging in some of the lesser-known government agencies. But our Washington correspondent has been keeping an eye out and an ear open. Well-placed sources report the following:

Trepid Barson, old-time GOP wheelhorse from Nevada, has lost out in his attempt to become Executive Director of the Commission for the Review of the National Policy Toward Gambling. Unlike many of the other losers, Barson has maintained his equilibrium. "You pay your money, you take your chances," Barson shrugged to your reporter.

Well, it's still chaos at the American Battle Monuments Commission. The entrenched Democrats refuse to give way to the eager new Republicans, until the new crew agrees to erect a plaque in Chicago commemorating the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

There's been a terrible misunderstanding in the offices of the California Debris Commission. Seems that the White House personnel director has attempted to stock it with old-time Reagan supporters who didn't make it into the sub-cabinet. Those designated have made their disappointment known to the President himself in a round-robin letter.

They're still looking for a survivor of the Hoover administration to head the National Cemetery System. Meanwhile, incoming Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger turned down Gordon Liddy's application to head the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice. Liddy refused to be bought off with a lesser appointment to the chairmanship of Federal Prison Industries, Inc. The latest word is that the disagreement has been referred to the Federal Service Impasses Panel.

They still haven't recovered from the shock over at the Bureau of Smallpox Eradication. Wenton Darlie, a loyal Republican committeeman from South Dakota, was eager to snap up the top job there until he learned that smallpox had already been eradicated. Friends say that Darlie was so angered at what he took to be a snub that he succumbed to an apoplectic stroke.

It's down to the wire for the four TV executives still in the running to head the National Center for the Book. All four candidates are committed to the Center's abolition, and the Center is scheduled to self-destruct as soon as the Department of Education is forced out of business. Watch this space.

If you want to know what the change of administrations really means, check out the Navajo and Hopi Indian Relocation Committee. Washington old-timers can't remember a greater battle royal. The new Secretary of the Interior is determined to appoint a cowboy to chair the committee, and the Indians are having none of it. Several settlements have already been put to the torch. The new commander of the seventh cavalry has spread the word from his Pentagon headquarters that these outrages are going to be punished. Efforts to mediate the dispute resulted in the new administration's greatest faux pas, the appointment of a full-blooded Apache as conciliator.

As soon as it was reported that the new President suffers from hay fever every now and then, the directorship of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases became one of the Capital's most sought-after plums. Dr. Wilter Camdon, inventor of the twelve-hour allergy capsule, still has the inside track. But the fear is that Dr. Camdon will bring in too large a staff. He has already signed up more than 600 tiny time pills.

Well, Minneapolis businesswoman Charlene Stickstin didn't do herself much good when she was heard to mutter

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"history is bunk" after leaving her interview for the post of chairman of the Advisory Council on Historical Preservation. Mrs. Stickstin claims she was misquoted in the *Washington Post*'s front-page story on the episode. The *Post,* however, is sticking by its story.

Still no word on whether Bert Lance will come out of retirement to accept one of the Democratic slots on the Joint Board for the Enrollment of Actuaries. Lance, who served briefly as budget director in the Carter administration, is known to be interested in the spot, but is reluctant to leave his business interests unattended.

For the past several days, your reporter has attempted to get through to the Automated Data and Telecommunications Service to find out who will be taking over that key federal assignment. No luck. The answering machine there is obviously on the blink; no calls have been returned. Other journalists report nothing but busy signals. As everyone knows, the new administration has put a clamp on new federal hiring, so there's no chance that a real live operator will ever show up in the place.

Well, the ASPCA is up on its hind legs over the administration's refusal to abolish the Detector Dog Training Center. The Center is one of the lesser-known agencies of the federal government, but its skilled graduates have become famous for their ability to sniff out dangerous explosives and contraband drugs. The ASPCA fears that the canines will be none the better off from all that marijuana toking. It's become a major test of the new administration's commitment to law and order.

Finally, if you've been wondering why there have been so many delays in your mail delivery these past four weeks, you'll have to check out the fracas over at the U.S. Postal Service. Republican letter carriers have been assigned the routes in all the better neighborhoods, especially in the posh suburbs. The old-line Democratic mailmen who found themselves displaced from these cushy assignments aren't about to start lugging mail back in the inner city. They have refused to surrender their zip code directories to the new Republican replacements. The Democratic letter carriers, known for the distinctive green Gucci stripes which adorn their mail pouches, have been telling one and all that they'll be back on top in 1984. Most observers expect the controversy to die down as soon as the losers have a chance to blow off some steam. But who knows? In their first act of defiance of the new administration, the Democrats refused to deliver this month's issue of the *Reader's Digest.* "It's a test of their true commitment," said one of the disgruntled letter carriers. "If these Republicans really mean what they say, they'll go buy one off the rack and not rely on us federal employees."

Maybe this individual initiative stuff has gotten out of hand. □

Daniel Pipes

NO ONE LIKES THE COLONEL

From the shores of Tripoli to the airstrip in Fua'amotu.

Even after eleven years in power, Libya's Col. Mu'ammar al-Qaddafi continues to exert his political will at a frenzied pace. His latest efforts include: the near crippling of President Carter's re-election campaign through payments to brother Billy; declaring political union with Syria on September 10, 1980; providing support to Iran shortly after Iraq attacked it on September 22; accusing Saudi Arabia of placing itself "under U.S. occupation" (which provoked a break in relations on October 30); mounting a war of nerves against U.S. reconnaissance planes near the Libyan coast; threatening Malta over oil exploration rigs in contested waters; bribing Cyprus to accept a transmitter for Libyan radio broadcasts; and flying Libyan troops to southern Chad to control the country and impose political union on it. Most recently, he has been connected with the outbreak of violence by a Muslim group in northern Nigeria that left over 100 people dead.

Daniel Pipes is the author of Slave Soldiers and Islam *published last month by Yale University Press.*

These are only the latest details of a grand plan for Libya. Qaddafi has involved himself in every Middle Eastern conflict, in Muslim causes as far away as the Philippines, and in "liberation" movements around the world. Libya has a key role in OPEC, serves as an arsenal for Soviet arms, and aspires to nuclear weapons of its own. Such actions have not been without consequence; they have made Libya, a nation of three million people, an unexpectedly powerful force in world.

And Qaddafi can take credit for it. Before the discovery of oil in 1959, Libya was a primitive state, politically dependent on British and American aid and economically reliant on an unskilled workforce with an annual per capita income of $30. Libya's King Idris failed to wring any political and economic power out of Libya's oil, and so when Qaddafi took over the country in a bloodless coup on September 1, 1969, he inherited a sleepy state without international ambitions. Qaddafi lost no time stamping his vision on the country. Within a few months, the new ruler felt secure enough to institute a provisional constitution, challenge the oil companies' control over petroleum production and pricing, and expel the British and Americans from their Libyan bases.

Exhilarated by these early successes, Qaddafi plunged into international affairs and overnight turned Libya into a significant actor on the world stage. Libya's new power of course, flowed from its oil, without which its influence would be no greater than that of, say, Chad or Niger. Yet billions of oil dollars alone do not account for Libyan strength: Kuwait and Abu Dhabi enjoy revenues comparable to Libya's but play smaller roles in international politics; their leaders lack the drive to push and fight. They lack Qaddafi's sense of mission.

And Qaddafi really does have a mission. Despite his reputation as an eccentric, even a madman, he has pursued consistent policies for twelve years. He has three passions: Islam and Arabism; people's councils and Islamic socialism; and revolutionary ferment. Intense patriotism as a Muslim and an Arab defines Qaddafi's identity. He continually advances the

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cause of Islam, whether by imposing Islamic regulations within Libya, urging Muslims elsewhere to do likewise. or helping Muslims in conflict with non-Muslims. For Qaddafi, Arabs, because they speak the language of the Qur'an, have a special place in Islam and so must serve as exemplars for other Muslims. Arab unity is the first step to Islamic brotherhood.

Qaddafi fights with unrelenting hostility against anything that obstructs Islam or Arabism. He can not forgive the Europeans for having colonized so much of the Muslim world and then imposing on it what he views as their weak, corrupt ways. He condemns the United States for exploiting Muslims economically and he regards Israel as the culmination of Western imperialism—not just the political control of a territory but its settlement by Europeans and their subsequent expulsion of its Muslim inhabitants. The continued existence of Israel symbolizes the impotence of Arabs and Muslims, a result of their internal divisions. Israel's destruction will be both the catalyst and symbol of Arab and Muslim unity.

Qaddafi has also developed a political ideology of his own to guide public affairs in Libya and around the world. He believes that the people's councils and Islamic socialism proposed in his *Green Books* can solve the perennial problems of the distribution of power and wealth. Neither bourgeois democratic nor Marxist authoritarian, neither capitalist nor Communist, his ideas constitute a "third theory." Since the introduction of his third way in 1973, Qaddafi has increasingly insisted on its application in Libya and in other countries where he carries influence; his enthusiasm for the *Green Books* may now even eclipse his devotion to the Qur'an. This accounts for the increasingly erratic regulations concerning Islam which emanate from Libya (such as a change in the first year of the Islamic calendar from 622 C.E. to 632). Although Qaddafi's antipathy to both capitalism and Communism might imply a neutral stance toward the great powers, in fact he favors the Soviet bloc, for the West is associated with colonialism and support for Israel, while the Soviet Union arms and supports Qaddafi's government.*

Finally, Qaddafi is drawn to revolutionary ferment; temperamentally he cannot endure tranquility. In his private life, in Libyan politics, in the world at large, Qaddafi constantly creates turbulence, upsets the status quo, and revels in action for its own sake. No ruler has resigned so many times, tried so often to unite with other states, or meddled so irresponsibly around the world. This personal inclination goes far to explain the effervescence of Libyan politics during the seventies.

Translating these principles into action, Qaddafi helps Muslims against non-Muslims, Arabs against non-Arabs, revolutionaries against the status quo, republicans against monarchs, and absolutely anyone who hates Israel. Difficult choices arise only rarely: Revolutionary Algeria supports the creation of a new independent Arab state of the Western Sahara by the Polisario; monarchical Morocco is battling to include Western Sahara within its borders. Qaddafi agonized for months; while he disapproves of dividing up the Arab world further by the creation of a new state, he instinctively sympathizes with the Polisario. In the end, Qaddafi followed his emotions and Libya currently supplies most of the Polisario's materiel. Support for the Ethiopian government after 1975 against Eritrean secessionists has also meant placing emotions ahead of ideology. But such dilemmas have been few; for the most part, Qaddafi's preferences have been completely predictable.

Indeed, the bizarre quality of Qaddafi's actions results from his utter certainty and constancy. For example, he encourages *any* measure against Israel, opposing the Jewish state in every international forum, however inappropriate, embracing terrorism without qualms, and even proposing such schemes as the bombing of the ocean liner *Queen Elizabeth II* as it brought Jews to celebrate Israel's 25th Anniversary. Qaddafi is completely determined and committed; he has a vision of truth and does everything in his power to advance it. Unquestionably, he is fanatical, but rarely erratic, unpredictable, or devious.

In some ways, Qaddafi resembles two other wildly eccentric African despots, Idi Amin and Jean-Bedel Bokassa. Like them, he has sponsored a long list of grotesque and malevolent activities and sneered at world-wide condemnation of his acts. Who but Qaddafi would unearth the bones of Italians buried in Libya, build a 200-mile concrete wall to protect himself from a neighbor (Egypt), or sign a mutual defense treaty with Guinea? Ofttimes he appears like a character out of opera bouffe or an Evelyn Waugh novel.

Yet there is more to Qaddafi. Unlike Amin and Bokassa, he displays no personal taste for barbarism and cruelty. Since 1969 Libya has witnessed few atrocities and its repression is moderate by world standards. In fact, political executions did not take place until April 1977, more than seven years after Qaddafi came to power. Although domestic brutality increased in 1980, it is still very far from recent ravages in Uganda, Central Africa, or Equatorial Guinea, to say nothing of Indochina. Moreover, where Amin and Bokassa built up whimsical cults of self-aggrandizement, Qaddafi has an ideology and acts according to principles. In contrast to Amin's and Bokassa's former splendor, Qaddafi lives modestly. Recently, however, a cult of personality has been building around Qaddafi; among other acts of adulation, he accepts veneration as a messiah figure from the Children of God, an American Jesus freak movement. Finally, equating Qaddafi with Amin and Bokassa wrongly implies that he is a figure of only regional importance. He is much more.

Libya has a vast income (now almost $20 billion a year) but a miniscule, unskilled population of about three million people. From this odd blend, Qaddafi has devised novel methods of conducting an adventurous foreign policy based not on human resources, but on wealth and will power. Qaddafi's foreign efforts invariably involve giving money, buying alien services, and the energetic use of Libya's limited facilities.

Libya aids governments and opposition groups about equally. Over forty governments have received funds for non-military purposes; although most of them are Arab or Muslim, Qaddafi makes real

*Qaddafi occasionally does speak out about the plight of Muslim minorities in Communist countries, especially Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. He has not publically discussed Muslims in the Soviet Union, however, though reports have circulated that he brought up this topic during a 1977 meeting with Brezhnev in Moscow: "Brezhnev reportedly raised the possibility of opening a Soviet consulate in Benghazi, whereupon Qaddafi said that would be all right if Libya could open one in Tashkent. When Brezhnev asked why Tashkent, Qaddafi was quoted as saying, 'Because I understand there are a lot of Muslims in that part of Russia [sic] and I would like to take care of them.' The matter was never raised again."

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efforts to reach other countries too. Some money goes to humanitarian causes, such as caring for flood and earthquake victims in Pakistan or feeding the peoples struck by famine in Somalia. Larger sums go for economic development: a pelletization plant in India, agricultural infrastructure in the Sudan, and a wide variety of joint ventures (shipping companies, trading firms, factories, agribusinesses). Libyan joint bank offices have opened in eighteen countries; Islamic schools, cultural centers, and mosques have been built throughout the Muslim world with Libyan funds.†

Small gifts win goodwill in remote areas: The poorest countries in Africa (Burundi, Malagasy, Rwanda, Togo) receive development aid, Sri Lanka got one million dollars for hosting the non-aligned conference of 1977, and Tonga plans to extend the main airstrip at the Fua'amotu airport with three million dollars from Libya. Three near-bankrupt leftist governments in the Caribbean (Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica) recently accepted emergency aid, while Soviet clients nearer to Libya (Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen) have also profited from Libyan largesse. Libya's six contiguous neighbors have also taken its money for non-military purposes, as have all the countries bordering on Israel.

Military aid is also widely distributed. Although Qaddafi repeatedly assured France during the years 1971-74 that Libyan Mirage planes had not been made available to Egypt, President Sadat later disclosed that they had. When Israel shot down five Syrian MiGs in June 1979, Libya immediately offered to replace them. Turkey may have used Libyan arms during its 1974 invasion of Cyprus. Following the Egypt-Israel peace treaty, Qaddafi offered the Sudan extensive military aid if Numeiri broke with Sadat. The Maldive Islands received two radar-equipped boats for its coast guard. A few up-to-date weapons have made a big difference for the armed forces of countries like Burundi, Central Africa, Mauritania, and Niger.

Qaddafi rewards governments in other ways as well. He sells oil, even at ever higher prices, as a favor to be exploited for political ends. Threats of an oil boycott convinced President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines to accept Libyan mediation in his struggle with Muslim rebels. Selling discounted oil to Malta has kept Dom Mintoff subservient for years. Libya also wins influence by paying premium prices for the vast array of foreign goods and services it consumes. When buying products such as steel, cement, and foodstuffs, which are homogeneous in quality and uniform in price, Libya often chooses the seller who is most politically cooperative. Libya needs tens of thousands of technicians, educators, clerks, construction laborers, and unskilled workers; intense international competition to supply this labor again permits Qaddafi to extract political concessions. Egypt and Tunisia provided the most manpower for Libya during the 1970s, but recent crises with these two countries (peace with Israel, the Gafsa incident) have led to a reduction in favor of laborers from Turkey, Pakistan, India, and other points east. Such diversification wins Libya influence and prestige in many countries while reducing its vulnerability to any one supplier. An occasional small gesture of generosity can make a big impression: Qaddafi won favor in Sri Lanka by paying for four years' worth of tea in advance.

Libya invests very little in the less developed countries, prefering the larger, more stable markets of the West. Here too Qaddafi exploits the power of his money, though usually with less success. For example, when the Italian newspaper *La Stampa* published a satire on Qaddafi in 1974, Qaddafi demanded the dismissal of its Jewish editor and threatened to break diplomatic relations with Italy if not satisfied; he was not and the furor died down. Two years later, in what is perhaps a related development, Libya purchased $415 million worth of stock in Fiat, *La Stampa*'s parent company.

True to his anarchistic bent, Qaddafi supports as many opposition movements as established governments. Here, the Muslim component of Qaddafi's ideology shows more clearly. In Chad, Muslim rebels who took up arms in 1966 against the central government run by Christians and animists have received significant aid from Qaddafi since 1970. Eritrean secessionists portray their efforts as a Muslim movement in order to win Libyan aid against the central government of Christian Ethiopia. In the Lebanese civil war of 1975-77, Qaddafi of course backed the more Muslim faction of the National Front. Similar Muslim fellow-feeling impels Qaddafi to give unbounded support to the PLO. Further east, he helps Muslim rebels in Thailand and the Philippines.

Qaddafi also supports activist Muslims struggling against governments run by less zealous Muslims. He aids several subversive Muslim organizations in Egypt in the hope that one of them will either assassinate leading Egyptian politicians or carry out a coup. Before Libyan relations with the Turkish government warmed up, Qaddafi was accused of aiding its Muslim extremist opponents. Reports came to light that Qaddafi funded the armed group that took over the Great Mosque in Mecca in November 1979; the two Libyans present were his agents. Libyan support for the Islamic opposition to the Shah began in the mid-1970s, and Qaddafi now claims to have been the first leader outside Iran to aid Khomeini. And in a demonstration that Islam can be more important to Qaddafi than geopolitical alliances, Libyan weapons for a time were sent to the Islamic groups fighting the government in Afghanistan after the Soviet-backed coup in April 1978.

†Qaddafi even provided a loan for the construction of a mosque to American Black Muslims in return for their adoption of a less idiosyncratic form of Islam.

Many Arab regimes fail to meet Qaddafi's standards, so he has often instigated coups against them. He has been accused of trying to topple the governments of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, the Sudan, and Jordan—and in many cases, of trying more than once. Even though the Libyan government usually denied any involvement in these failed coups, it sometimes showed its hand while they were in progress. King Hasan of Morocco came close to losing his life in a 1971 conspiracy, at which time Qaddafi placed his troops on alert and announced their availability to aid the rebels should the "reactionary" forces challenge their rule; to Libya's acute embarrassment and disappointment, King Hasan quickly regained power. The conspiracy against the Sudanese government which unfolded in July 1976 was hatched in Libya, where the conspirators were trained, armed, and quartered; while the coup was in progress, Qaddafi sent Libyan planes over Khartoum.

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Qaddafi's aid to opposition groups extends to virtually every West European separatist movement that turns to him, including such secessionist groups as the Canary Islanders, the Basques, the Northern Irish, as well as the Scottish, Welsh, Breton, Corsican, and Sardinian movements.

Aiding these rebels gives Qaddafi some clout; but permitting outlawed groups—almost always non-European—to open offices, even headquarters, in Libya gives him even greater control. Organizations represented in Tripoli include the Polisario (Western Sahara), Union democrátique républicaine du Mali, Tunisian Resistance Army, Frolinat (Chad), Ansar (Sudan), Front for the Liberation of Egypt, Palestine Liberation Front, Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab [Persian] Gulf, Arabistan Liberation Movement (Iran), Pattani National Liberation Front (Thailand), Moro National Liberation front (the Philippines), as well as movements directed against the current regimes in Morocco, Mauritania, and Afghanistan. Qaddafi funds these groups, arms them, and provides access to Libyan training camps and radio. Because Qaddafi can take away all that he gives, these revolutionary organizations have to listen to him. This became evident in December 1976 during negotiations between the Philippine government and the Moro National Liberation Front: To insure their success, Qaddafi virtually excluded the Front from the talks and came to terms on their behalf with the Manila regime.

Qaddafi exercises an even tighter rein over the foreign legions he sponsors. These three legions are staffed, even directed, by foreigners and they each have a distinct mission: religious, military, or terrorist. The Association for the Propagation of Islam, founded in 1970, trains Muslim preachers sympathetic to Qaddafi's intolerant Islam and sends them abroad with ample funds. By 1977, the Association fielded 350 missionaries, only two of whom were Libyans; most of them have been sent to sub-Saharan Africa, that last great battleground for souls between Christian and Muslim. Others have been sent to Malaysia in an attempt to upset that country's delicate religious balance.

The Bureau to Export Revolution (known also as *Le Bureau arabe des liasons*) runs commando camps for foreigners in Libya; six near the Mediterranean coast, four on the border with Tunisia, and one in the heart of the country, at Sebha. Egyptians, Tunisians and other Arabs, sub-Saharan Africans, Pakistanis, Indians, Vietnamese, North Koreans, and West Europeans participate, but there are no Cubans or Soviets, and the organization is run by Palestinians. The troops, numbering about 7,000, are well paid, well trained, highly politicized, and strictly disciplined. Some soldiers sign up abroad, but most, threatened with expulsion for having entered Libya illegally in search of work, prefer military service for the Bureau instead.

Soldiers from these camps have often ventured outside Libya, assisting the Polisario (via a desert route dubbed the "Qaddafi trail"), occupying the Aozou strip in northern Chad, and fighting in Chad's civil war. Others staged a coup in the Sudan and aided three African tyrants, Amin, Bokassa, and Francisco Macias Nguemo in Equatorial Guinea.

Tanzanian troops threatened to overthrow Idi Amin in early 1979, so Qaddafi sent 1,500 Libyans and legionnaires to Uganda. (Before leaving Libya, the soldiers were told they were being sent to Malta to participate in celebrations marking the withdrawal of British troops.) When Amin's support melted away, they were overwhelmed and the 1,100 survivors captured. Qaddafi paid the Tanzanians $40 million for their return.

On the morning of January 27, 1980, three hundred legionnaires, soldiers of the Tunisian Resistance Army attacked the town of Gafsa in western Tunisia. Some had made their way by land from Libya, others had flown to Algiers from Libya and posed as a sports group before making their way to the border. Libyan propaganda had convinced them that as soon as they raised the flag of rebellion, massive popular support in Tunisia would help them to vanquish the Bourguiba regime. In fact, they found no local sympathy and the government easily regained control.

Until 1975, the Libyan government relied on independent foreign groups to undertake its terrorist missions. In that year, the establishment of a terrorist foreign legion, the *Service special des renseignements*, made it possible for Qaddafi to initiate and control hijackings, assassinations, sabotage, and kidnapping. As observed in *Africa Contemporary Record,* by mid-1976 Qaddafi had become omnipresent:

> In addition to the plan to kidnap Abdul Menim Houni at Rome airport in March, and the assassination plots in Egypt and Tunisia the same month, he was accused in May of planning sabotage in the Nile Delta and of arming terrorists in Iran. In July he was charged with masterminding the coup attempt in Sudan, and in August, with responsibility for bombings in Egypt and for an attack on an El Al plane in Istanbul. Also in August, Sadat claimed Gaddafi and George Habash of the PFLP had directed the Entebbe hijacking of an Air France plane at the end of June.

In a July 1976 interview, Qaddafi defended terrorism, arguing that the use of force by oppressed peoples fighting for liberation is proper.

Qaddafi provides terrorists with money, weapons, training, and false documents. The diplomatic pouches and secure cables of Libyan embassies afford an invaluable network for supplies and information. The Palestinians who killed eleven Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics received their weapons through the Libyan diplomatic pouch (those killed by the West German police received state funerals in Libya). Libya also serves as a favorite refuge for assorted desperadoes. According to President Sadat, Illitch Ramires Sanchez ("Carlos"), the world's most notorious terrorist, lived for two years in a small coastal hotel near Tripoli; the same hotel housed the five Japanese Red Army members who attacked the American consulate in Kuala Lumpur in 1975 as well as the German anarchist Hans Joachim Klein, who was wounded in the kidnapping of OPEC ministers in Vienna in December 1975. In addition, Idi Amin probably stayed there for a time after his overthrow.

Qaddafi does not restrict the use of terror to foreigners. During the spring of 1980, Qaddafi's agents hunted down Libyan exiles who opposed his regime. Their murder of four dissidents in Rome, two in London, and one each in Athens, Beirut, Bonn, and Milan aroused international opprobrium. Most were shot, but one was strangled and another decapitated. Threats against dissident Libyan students living in this country led the U.S. government to expel several Libyan diplomats and nearly caused a break in relations. ➟

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Qaddafi uses his international connections as an Arab and a Muslim to expand Libya's influence. Under the guise of working to forge a single Arab nation, he has attempted to unite Libya with a dizzying number of other countries, including the Western Sahara, Morocco, Mauritania, Malta (only Qaddafi sees Malta as Arab), Egypt, the Sudan, Syria, and, most recently, Chad. In each instance, negotiations broke down when the other side began to appreciate Qaddafi's intentions to dominate the union; this has just happened again with Syria. In the case of Chad, however, Qaddafi has a better chance of success because he already controls the country.

Islam plays an even greater role in Qaddafi's foreign relations. By convincing them to convert from Christianity ("the religion of imperialism") to Islam, Qaddafi forged bonds with two African strongmen: Albert-Bernard Bongo, president of Gabon, in September 1973, and Jean-Bedel Bokassa, president (and later emperor) of Central Africa, in October 1976. Qaddafi was even present in the mosque in Bangui, Central Africa, when Bokassa converted. Subsequently, both Bongo and Bokassa wore their Islam lightly—confirming the political nature of their conversions. Libyan influence is also discernable in the Algerian National Charter of June 1976, which made Islam the religion of state, and in the Mauritanian decree of June 1978 which established Islamic precepts as the law of the land.

But Qaddafi has been even more unorthodox in his methods. During the November 1972 unity talks in Tripoli between North and South Yemen, he threatened to detain their diplomats until they reached an agreement (they did). He helped to foil a coup attempt against Sudanese President Numeiri in July 1971, by forcing down a BOAC plane flying over Libya with the coup's two leaders on board. They were held in Libya and eventually turned over to the Sudanese government for execution. Musa as-Sadr, leader of the Twelver Shi'is in Lebanon, disappeared while on a state visit to Libya in August 1978. Libyan authorities claim he left Tripoli on Alitalia flight #881 to Rome on August 31, but investigations have clearly shown that he never left Libya. It appears that Musa as-Sadr, an invited guest of state, was murdered by his Libyan hosts.

Qaddafi has reacted with astounding greediness to the discovery of oil on the continental shelf between Libya and its oil-poor neighbors, Tunisia and Malta. In January 1975, Malta proposed to divide the shelf midway between the two countries. In response, Libya claimed everything beyond twelve miles of Maltese territorial waters. In May 1976, the two countries agreed to refer their dispute to the International Court in the Hague, as did Libya and Tunisia three months later. Since then, the Libyans have placed exploration platforms in the contested waters on four different occasions, one time nearly provoking war. In a tauntingly aggressive move, government maps of Libya published in September 1976 included about 7,500 square miles of Algeria. a similar amount of Niger, and 37,000 square miles of Chad. Qaddafi made no effort to control the Algerian territory, but the northernmost portions of Chad (known as the Aozou strip) and Niger were already under Libyan control.

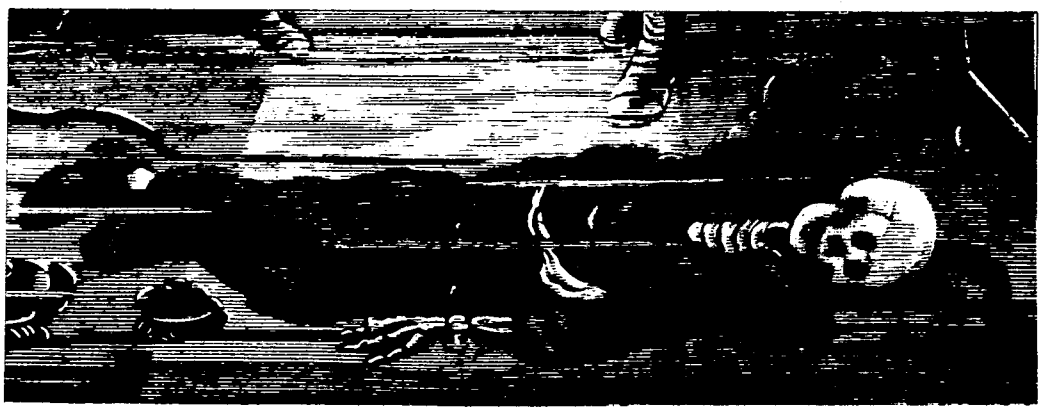
When the late Ali Bhutto announced that he would build an "Islamic bomb" because the Christian, Jewish, Hindu, and Communist civilizations all have nuclear weapons and the Muslims do not, Qaddafi readily volunteered to finance the research. Libyan participation ceased to be merely financial in mid-1979 when a truck in Niger carrying 20 tons of 70 percent uranate, known as "yellow cake," disappeared from its normal route to the sea. Weeks later, nomads found the truck, overturned and empty, in the part of Niger under de facto Libyan control. In return for research assistance and the uranate, Pakistan reportedly will give Qaddafi the first one or two bombs it produces. According to the *Christian Science Monitor,* Qaddafi "may use the bomb to blow up the Suez Canal as a personal gesture of hatred for President Anwar Sadat."

Yet, for all of Qaddafi's hyperactivity, he rarely gets his way; empty promises and fanaticism on his part have repeatedly undermined his ceaseless efforts to project power. Talking big but paying small has disappointed many potential allies, particularly in Africa. Within two years of his conversion to Islam, Gabonese President Bongo abrogated all the cooperation agreements he had signed with Libya because Qaddafi had not honored them. "These [Arabs] are not serious people and they do not keep agreements signed by them," he concluded. More recently, Qaddafi convinced the Maltese to terminate 181 years of British military presence on their island by promising to make up lost revenues (which amounted to about one-third of the national budget). But when it came time to pay, Qaddafi subjected Dom Mintoff to a humiliating inquisition at the hands of a people's council. In the end, Malta received no money from Libya and now blames its economic plight squarely on Qaddafi.

But even when he does deliver, Qaddafi often alienates recipients by demanding too much as a quid pro quo. For example, he insisted that Nepal break diplomatic relations with Israel in return for $50,000 in disaster relief. Few states, even small ones, sell their foreign policy that cheaply.

Over the past decade Qaddafi's radical fervor has cost him nearly all of his allies. He simply never knows when to desist. The Tunisians endured sabotage, assassination plots, and aggression over contested oil fields, until the attack on Gafsa finally expended their good will. Qaddafi's faction in Chad turned against him when Libya claimed a slice of Chad's territory. Attemps to unite with Egypt have soured to the point where Qaddafi and Sadat now try to assassinate each other. Extreme anti-Israel sentiment did not prevent a break in relations with the PLO during 1979, and its expulsion from Libya. Khomeini cannot forgive Qaddafi for murdering Musa as-Sadr, his relative by marriage. Qaddafi is a national villain in Uganda, Central Africa, and the Philippines; only Algeria and Pakistan have managed to maintain steadily good relations. Even though international representation in Libya has tripled since 1969, the country is isolated; only enormous revenues buy enough friends to keep it from becoming a pariah.

Qaddafi has won many battles but not a single war. The Polisario is losing, the Gafsa attack failed, Sadat persevered in making peace with Israel, Chad degenerated into anarchy, Idi Amin and Bokassa were overthrown, Eritreans and Ethiopians reached a stand-off, Israel withstood terrorism, the Mecca mosque caper failed bloodily, the National Front in Lebanon disintegrated, Thai and Philippine rebellions ground down to a halt, and the attempts to use Billy Carter to influence U.S. foreign policy came to nothing. Not one of Qaddafi's attempts at coups d'etat has toppled a government, not one rebellious force has succeeded, no separatists have established a new state, no terrorist campaign has broken a people's resolve, no plan for union has been carried through, and no country save Libya follows the "third theory." Qaddafi has reaped bitterness and destruction without attaining any of his goals. Greater futility can scarcely be imagined. □



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SLEAZY, SOAPY, AND RICH

by Whit Stillman

Four years ago I began receiving *TV Guide* regularly in the mail. Life has not been the same since. *TV Guide* is famous for its program listings and in-depth articles on TV personalities and trends, but each issue also includes Judith Crist's TV movie column (except in Hawaii), editorials, a letters section (the main outlet for the work of a number of conservative and libertarian writers), TV Teletype New York/Hollywood, and the fact-packed TV Update section—Sally Bedell and Frank Swertlow reporting.

Regular readers of *TV Guide*'s reporting and program listings soon find their preconceptions about television shattered. In the old view television was hopelessley non-controversial, utterly timid about tackling serious social issues, far from the forefront of social change in this country—in fact, notably backward. Actually the networks base a great deal of their programming around common social problems, and sometimes discover entirely new ones.

In "Portrait of an Escort," for instance, CBS brought to light the situation of the paid escort in America. "Jordan West needs extra money to support the daughter she loves," the network's ad explained. "Tonight, she'll dine and dance with a stranger for fifty dollars. Now, it could cost her life. . . . " (Judith Crist oddly criticized this TV movie for using "sleazy melodrama . . . to spice up what could have been intelligent social drama.")

There are enough social-problem TV movies to give some performers regular employment. Valerie Harper (formerly "Rhoda"), who fought sexual harassment on the assembly line last year, turned to the battered wives issue this season. "My intention," she said, "is to illuminate the battered women syndrome and give hope to women."

NBC ascribed similar motives to "Rage," its drama about a clinic for rapists: "Unless we have a more enlightened approach to treatment of rapists these horrible crimes will continue. It is our hope that "Rage" will shed some new light on this subject. If it helps to prevent one rape, we have performed a public service."

Among the other public service TV movies which appeared during the same short period last fall were "Rape and Marriage: The Rideout Case," "A Cry for Love," "The Jayne Mansfield Story," and "The Women's Room," which Judith Crist called "a feminist tract set to *Sturm und Drang*."

The current network strategy of cloaking seamy plots with social messages underlined in crayon—in addition to a yearning for civic respectability and strange pride of authorship among TV writers and producers—seems to have prompted a selective abandonment of the old pretense that entertainment television is ideologically message-free.

In his unpublished memoirs a Hollywood blacklist veteran recently boasted that, as a scriptwriter for the mid-sixties series "Daniel Boone," he inserted anti-Vietnam War messages in the show—placing this children's series in the vanguard of opposition to U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia.

Usually, producers acknowledge their propaganda function in shows tackling the least controversial causes. Last year an episode of producer Garry Marshall's "Laverne & Shirley," entitled "The Slow Child," won the annual ARC of Excellence award from the National Association of Retarded Citizens.

This season Marshall and Norman Lear have said they will use their shows to proselytize for the Carter administration's energy policies. A political group called the Solar Lobby and the former administration's Office of Conservation and Solar Energy said they worked for over a year "to educate" Lear and Marshall—with apparent success.

This season on "Mork & Mindy," Marshall is emphasizing how Mork's planet, Ork, uses solar energy. On "Happy Days," Fonzie might bring a girlfriend into a solar "warm spot." "We gotta [sic] tie energy up with sex so viewers will listen," Marshall explains.

Solar energy in itself is the quintessence of the non-controversial cause. But, outside the planet Ork, its principal present-day use seems to be to persuade voters that there is no need to develop real-life energy resources.

Along similar lines, a social-problem episode of the series "Quincy," specially screened for a group of Missouri state senators, prompted the fast passage of previously blocked legislation. Missouri State Senator Harriet Wood wrote "Quincy" star Jack Klugman that the episode had "presented the need far better than any speech or printed material could have done. Thank you for your help; the governor signed the bill last week."

The usual message on "Quincy"—that whatever the social problem or crime, businessmen or reactionary white males are behind it—is not emphasized on its press releases. Traditionally television has made its points through the manipulation of stereotypes. Watching thousands of hours of prime-time shows in preparation for his brilliant 1979 book *The View from Sunset Boulevard*, the TV writer and former *American Spectator* Talkies reviewer Ben Stein found that even "the most inane and repetitious television shows" were filled with clear and "deeply similar" political and social messages.

Businessmen, the military, small-town residents, the rich, gun owners, fundamentalist Protestants—generally anyone who might vote Republican—were portrayed as ludicrous or evil. Conversely, the poor, teachers, members of ethnic minorities, people from outer space, people like TV writers, were portrayed as good.

Interviewing the writers and producers responsible for much of the prime time, Stein found that their attitudes "coincide almost exactly with what appears on television." Most of their attitudes were strange.

The U.S. military was seen as preparing a fascist coup. When asked whether she considered small towns frightening, the producer of "The Rockford Files" said: "Jesus, they did vote for Nixon." The Mafia, big business, and government were seen as closely interlinked. Garry Marshall commented: "When the government says something, I'm never sure whether the government is telling the truth, or whether it's big business talking."

Two producers said the world was controlled by "the presidents of the

Whit Stillman is New York editor of The American Spectator.

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largest multinational corporations telling General Alexander Haig what they wanted done. Haig, in cooperation with several ex-Nazis, carried out their wishes." None of this was brought out in the Senate hearings on Haig's confirmation as Secretary of State.

Another group of producers believed eight families rule the world, with their representatives gathering annually to decide all major elections, decree inflation and unemployment levels for each country, stop and start wars, and so on.

In terms of plausibility it is not far from this to "Dallas" and its imitators, the phenomena of this television season. One of "Dallas's" story editors said in an interview that the show's popularity "has a lot to do" with "how we imagine rich people dress and act. How we imagine corporation executives behave." Lorimar imagined them all behaving disgustingly.

The pattern holds up in the serials modeled on "Dallas." Lorimar's "Flamingo Road," described as "sizzling" in NBC's publicity, features both a corrupt sheriff and the horrible, wealthy Weldons of an old Southern town. "Secrets of Midland Heights"—Lorimar's saga of wealthy, vicious Guy Millington and hypocrisy in a Midwestern college town—was apparently too rank (CBS cancelled it in January). The Californians portrayed on "Knot's Landing," introduced by Lorimar last season, are merely affluent but the villainous rich from "Dallas" make crossover appearances. "Dynasty," added in January, concerns the ludicrously decadent, Denver oil-rich Carringtons. As the only non-Lorimar serial, it is not quite so rotten.

The rich women portrayed on the five night-time serials are perhaps the largest group of sluts ever assembled in peacetime. "Sue Ellen encourages Pam to have an affair, since she's about to embark on one herself," *TV Guide* reports of "Dallas's" last January episode. Of "Knot's Landing" it says: "Abby, eager to sink her claws into Gary, maneuvers Val into a restaurant where Gary is dining with another woman." If that's not perfectly clear, CBS's ad screams: "*How many marriages will Abby destroy?* Richard's making a fool of himself over her, but Abby's secret is out—it's Gary she's after! Who can resist her . . . who can stop her?" Bring in General Haig!

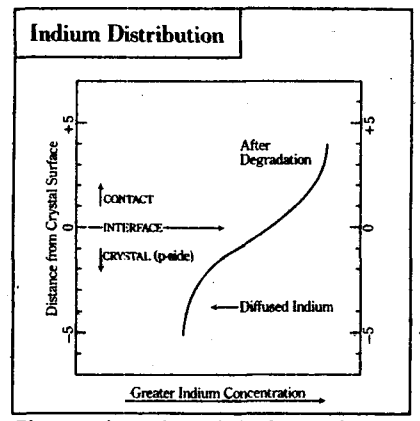
The vilification of capitalists and their families is so intense on "Dallas" that the editor of the British humor magazine *Punch* has wondered in print if the show's writers were working off "set texts from the Kremlin" and joked that it could lose the Cold War for the West if broadcast widely abroad. Perhaps it is then bad news that "Dallas" has already been shown in seventy foreign countries. In Turkey the National Salvation Party issued an ultimatum calling for "the elimination of 'Dallas' from television" because it is "degrading and aims at destroying Turkish family life."

Like a television show itself, the current season has its own tycoon villain in Lee Rich, the former New York advertising executive who heads Lorimar. On Madison Avenue Rich was noted for his memos on "the need for excellence" in television and the advertisers' role as the "most effective guardian of the public interest in broadcasting." "Advertisers oppose overcommercialism and mediocre programming," he boasted.

After becoming a producer himself, Rich had a change of heart. At a 1978 meeting of the Association of National Advertisers he characterized the PTA's campaign to persuade advertisers to exercise their guardi-

The Strategic Misalignment

Tunable semiconductor lasers can now measure specific gases in automotive exhaust with 25-millisecond response time. A successful strategy for improving laser reliability developed at the General Motors Research Laboratories makes this and other new spectroscopy capabilities practical realities.



Electron microprobe analysis of a crystal-contact interface, indicating indium penetration into the PbSnTe crystal.

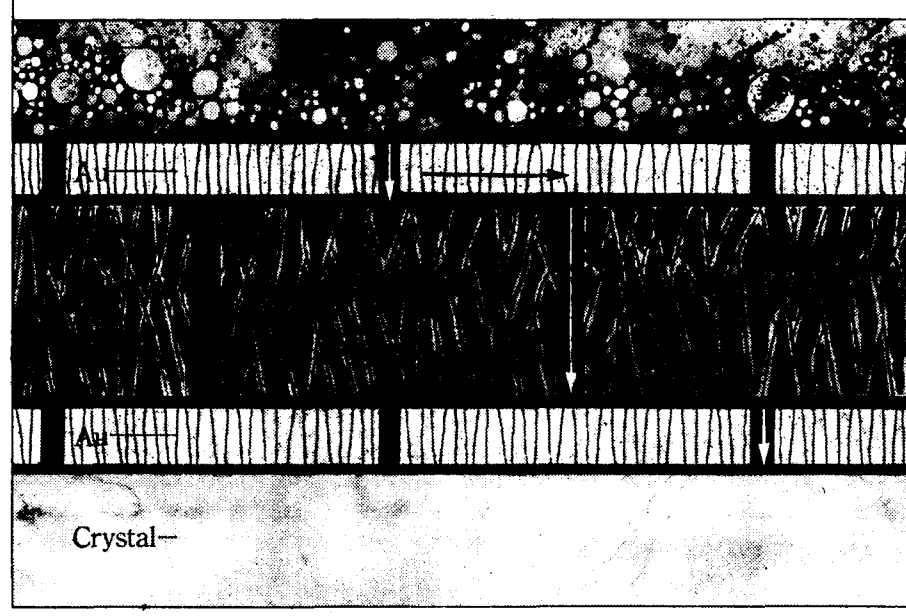


Diagram of hypothetical indium diffusion paths for a three-layer contact structure of Au-Pd-Au.

THE ACHIEVEMENT of long lifetime and frequency stability makes the lead-tin-telluride diode laser a practical infrared spectrometer. Earlier innovations brought to this laser the characteristics of increased power, higher temperature operation, greater efficiency and wider tuning range.

Operating in the 5- to 10-micron range, the PbSnTe laser spectrometer can resolve the time-dependent emission of carbon monoxide, sulfuric acid vapor, methane and other species of interest in automotive exhaust. This permits measurement of transients in carbon monoxide to carbon dioxide gas conversion in a catalytic converter. This capability represents a significant advance over conventional spectroscopy instrumentation. The laser is also being tested by NASA for use in detecting the molecular species involved in chemical reactions in the stratosphere.

New knowledge of the process by which laser reliability is compromised has been revealed in fundamental studies conducted by Dr. Wayne Lo and his colleagues at General Motors. Dr. Lo's investigations have demonstrated that laser lifetime and stability are limited by the development of excessive electrical contact resistance. He has been able to stop increases in resistance by devising a multilayer ohmic contact consisting of different metal films. This configuration has extended laser operating lifetime to more than 1,000 hours and increased shelf-life to an estimated 25 years.

Slow degradation due to a gradual increase in contact resistance was observed in idle lasers stored at room temperature, but not in lasers maintained at a maximum temperature of 77 K, despite several hundred hours of continuous operation. These results suggested the temperature-dependent process of diffusion.

Degradation occurred primarily on the p-type side of the laser, where the contact consisted of a thin layer of gold followed by a

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anship as a "blackmail attempt."

"Where does it end?" he asked the advertisers. "They can go as far as you allow them to go. I plead that you stand up to them." It was like a scene in a TV docudrama about the McCarthy era. In fact, commercial airtime has been in such demand that advertisers have never had less influence on network programming.

Interviewed by Stein for his book, Rich unburdened himself of many odd views. "If schoolteachers had the opportunity to become corrupt they would, because they're so underpaid," he declared. Crime he ascribed to "what we in America have done to racial and economic minorities." Reaching for an example of a relatively low annual salary, Rich came up with the figure $50,000. He saw religion as unimportant in American life and said he personally rejected it because "it hasn't made the changes it's got to make."

Lorimar has sought to give "Dallas" a lofty ancestry—the original inspiration was Ingmar Bergman's *Scenes from a Marriage, Time* reported. But more likely prototypes are closer at hand. In 1971, early in his producing career, Rich brought out *The Sporting Club,* a movie which earned a rare "BOMB" rating from the authoritative guide *TV Movies,* which commented: "Badly directed dud about violence and promiscuity among some beautiful people in Northern Michigan has enough ineptitude to offend everyone." Rich is a sort of *auteur*-producer re-creating his sleazy vision in various locales across the country.

The sleaziness is Rich's contribution but anti-business, anti-rich messages have long been pervasive on television—showing up regularly on the best American-made shows, such as "Columbo" and the current "Lou Grant," as well as the worst. In his book, Stein concludes that the program-makers are conducting through their shows a kind of class warfare against those groups they perceive as higher in status, resistant to their social and political messages, or in some other way threatening.

Even the most inane shows carry on the fight. Universal TV's new situation comedy "Harper Valley PTA" has Barbara Eden battling small-town hypocrisy as epitomized by the local Parent-Teacher Association. The national PTA has been the most vocal group lobbying against "sex and violence" on television; Universal, as the leading maker of adventure shows, was the big loser when this lobbying led to the institution of Family Viewing Time, intended to limit TV violence.

Docudrama has been the most directly political of television genres and among the first two of 1981 were NBC's "Kent State" and "Thornwell," CBS's dramatization of a case first publicized on "Sixty Minutes." Twenty years ago, as an army private, Thornwell was harassed and given LSD by army counterintelligence agents who suspected him of stealing secret documents—"treatment," Judith Crist reports, "the Army itself has since termed 'unconscionable.'" Congress recently awarded Thornwell $625,000 in compensation. "The unanswered question, however," Crist says, "is what the Army, let alone Congress, has done about its intelligence agents."

Meanwhile, the ABC group which produced "Attica" and the anti-Vietnam War docudrama "Friendly Fire" is now preparing an attack on the nuclear industry in the form of a dramatization of the "Karen Silkwood case." These last projects, *TV Guide* reports, are the work of "a brash new generation of network executives" with "a strong and active interest in contemporary social politics" who are determined "to change the face of prime time." →

layer of indium. Electron microprobe analyses revealed that indium, a semiconductor donor, was diffusing through the gold layer into the crystal, apparently causing a reduction in hole carrier concentration near the p-surface. This effect was counteracted to a great degree by sandwiching a thin layer of platinum between the layers of indium and gold. Laser reliability reached a full year.

When degradation was still observed, although to a reduced extent, Dr. Lo advanced the hypothesis that diffusion and transport were taking place along grain boundaries in the polycrystalline contact layers. He proposed replacing the Pt-Au barrier with a three-layer structure. Since palladium film structures have fewer grain boundaries than those of platinum, providing fewer leakage paths for the indium, Pd was tested in place of Pt.

DIODE LASERS composed of $Pb_{0.86}Sn_{0.14}Te$ and fabricated with a variety of contacts were maintained at 60°C in order to accelerate aging, with periodic interruptions for testing. The results showed that a multilayer structure of In-Au-Pd-Au, in which the grain boundaries tend to be misaligned, provides maximal reduction of indium penetration, confirming Dr. Lo's hypothesis.

The misaligned boundaries force diffusion to take place laterally, which slows transport into the crystal. The additional layer slows the process even further.

Solving the contact problem represents the culmination of efforts that began at General Motors with the development of an "ingot-nucleation" vapor transport method for growing crystals. The resulting crystals are of high purity, with a dislocation density of less than 1000 cm^{-2} Lasers made from these crystals incorporate a low temperature cadmium-diffused p-n junction. This process, invented by Dr. Lo, increases the laser's output to five milliwatts.

A tuning range of 500 cm^{-1} and pulsed operating temperatures of up to 140 K are achieved by a two-step annealing process. This technique induces a graded carrier concentration that increases infrared light confinement in the laser structure, thus reducing losses and increasing output.

"These innovations," says Dr. Lo, "combine to produce a laser that allows us to make measurements previously impossible."

THE MAN BEHIND THE WORK

Dr. Wayne Lo is a Senior Research Scientist in the Physics Department at the General Motors Research Laboratories.

Dr. Lo was born in Hupei, China. He did his undergraduate work at Cheng-Kung University in Taiwan. He received an M.S. from the University of Rhode Island and a Ph. D. in electrical engineering from Columbia University in 1972. His doctoral thesis concerned the characterization of deep-level states and carrier lifetimes in gallium arsenide light-emitting diodes.

Before undertaking graduate studies, Dr. Lo was instrumental in setting up the first American transistor production plant in Taiwan. In 1973, he joined General Motors, where he is currently in charge of semiconductor laser and spectroscopy research.

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Evidently what can be expected on the networks, then, is worse of the same. But it has become almost axiomatic that good television appears off-network. The hero of the last ten television seasons is Mobil Vice President for Public Affairs Herb Schmertz who through the wholesale importing of the best British television programming has given American viewers an idea of how good the medium can be.

This season Mobil budgeted $8,900,000 to finance 70 to 80 hours of first-run material on public broadcasting and commercial stations. The ad hoc Mobil Showcase Network linking individual commercial stations in the top 50 television markets was set up after the networks rejected Mobil's image advertising (on the grounds that the ads "were taking a position on a controversial issue").

Virtually all the Mobil programming will be imported from Britain. "There's little or nothing made in the United States that has the kind of quality we want," Schmertz said at a New York TV Academy luncheon last summer. (He also criticized the relentless portrayal of businessmen as villains on series such as "Dallas" and "Quincy.")

The most serious challenge to network dominance is coming from the new television technologies—video cassette, video disc, cable, and direct satellite-to-home transmission. Half the nation's households will have cable by the end of the decade, a report from the advertising agency J. Walter Thompson forecasts. "In 1979, half the homes in the country could receive nine or more television channels. By 1989, half of the country may well have more than 50 channels to pick and choose from." The report adds that "network audience losses will be proportionately greatest in the better educated, younger, more affluent households—the prime target of so many marketeers."

The move beyond mass-audience broadcasting is proceeding so quickly that in just one week this winter several new pay-cable services were announced. A performing-arts cable service called Bravo began operating in December. ABC said that its Alpha cultural cable service would begin in April. CBS Cable is scheduled to begin supplying cultural programming—music, off-Broadway plays, ballet, foreign films, and an "arts magazine"—near the middle of the year.

As the networks' involvement in this area implies, the new "narrowcast" television channels will probably be dominated by the same people who have done so much for broadcasting. The prospect of the slop now appearing off-Broadway being spread all over the country is not much to look forward to. What is needed now, and what is for perhaps the first time feasible, is the emergence of impressarios with a new and improved vision of what American television, or at least one channel of it, could be.

For years before he started planning Disneyland on a $10,000 budget in 1952, Walt Disney talked about building "a new kind of amusement park" of a quality and dimension only he could envision. "All he knew for certain," his biographer writes, "was he did not want to imitate the existing pattern because, as he had discovered when visiting them with his daughters years before, they were 'Dirty, phoney places, run by tough-looking people.' There was, he said, 'a need for something new, but I didn't know what it was.'"

Network prime-time is today a dirty, phoney place. American television needs some Disneys for adults—minus, of course, Tinkerbell, etc. □

PRESSWATCH

THROWAWAY COUNTRIES IN THROWAWAY TIMES

by Michael Ledeen

The Freedom of Information Act, continued: Most of those who cheered when the FOIA was passed undoubtedly expected that it would serve to unmask the evils of government and advance the cause of truth. I have suggested in this space from time to time that the thing doesn't work this way at all, and there was a small article in the *Wall Street Journal* on January 19 that made the point nicely. It began, "a federal judge in Wichita, Kans, granted Boeing Co.'s request for a restraining order barring the Defense Department from disclosing Boeing procedures for modifications of KC135 tanker aircraft, a company spokesman said."

The case had to do with a competing firm, Hays International Corp., that had asked for the information under the FOIA (the vast majority of requests under FOIA are made by American corporations, by the way), and the DOD had decided to release the information. Boeing sued, arguing that the release would "have given Hays an unfair competitive advantage when the contract again came up for bid." No one bothered to point out that, once the information had been released to Hays, anyone else (or indeed the government of a foreign country) could have the same information. It is this sort of thing that gives security-minded government officials gray hair and active ulcers.

El Salvador: Coverage of the war in El Salvador shifted abruptly in late December and early January, and students of the press will want to have this phenomenon explained. Heretofore the coverage by the leading dailies had argued that the governmental junta was evil and repressive, and that the revolutionaries were fighting the righteous struggle on behalf of an oppressed populace. Folks who suggested that El Salvador was simply the next step in an advance that started in Cuba and moved through Michael Manley's Jamaica to Sandinista Nicaragua, were written off as hysterics, and various priests, Friends, and spokesmen for Amnesty International were invoked against the junta. Thus it came as a considerable shock when American Ambassador White—himself the object of the wrath of the center-right for the past six months—began to say that the Salvadoran "revolutionaries" were being supplied directly from Cuba and Nicaragua with Russian, Cuban, and Chinese weapons.

Like all civil wars, the one in El Salvador is hard to analyze from day to day, and good reportage is in desperately short supply. The *Washington Post* has had two people on the story: Karen De Young, who frequently questions the government's actions but reports favorably on the guerrillas, and Christopher Dickey, who also regards the *pronunciamenti* from the "revolutionaries" as more reliable than handouts from the junta. Both seemed highly skeptical about claims made in early January by American officials that the Salvadoran guerrillas were receiving massive aid from foreign countries. In an article apparently from Washington on January 10, De Young said that "those in favor of the (military) aid have maintained that U.S. intelligence reports show marked increases in both the quality and quantity of weapons flowing to El Salvador's leftist guerrillas recently from sources that included Nicaragua, Cuba, Vietnam, the Palestine Liberation Organization, Libya and Eastern Europe." And slightly more than a week later, Dickey wrote:

> U.S. officials . . . hint without providing evidence that the Soviet Union may be pressuring the leftist government of neighboring Nicaragua to supply more arms and become more involved in the Salvadoran conflict than its leaders would have wanted.
>
> "Someone is playing throwaway with their little bulls--- country," is how one diplomat (sic!) here described Nicaragua's situation.

Still, by mid-January it was evident that the Communist bloc was indeed pouring arms into El Salvador. Cord Meyer reported it in the *Washington Star,* and Ambassador White himself told journalists in El Salvador that "approximately 100 men landed from Nicaragua" to bring weapons to the guerrillas. And the *Post*'s editorialists took a position quite different from that of their own reporters. On

Michael Ledeen is Executive Editor of the Washington Quarterly.

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January 17, the *Post* endorsed American military aid to El Salvador (suspended since 1977, when the human rights crowd started its rampage through the State Department's china shop) in a remarkable editorial:

> It is suggestive, though perhaps not conclusive, that the "final offensive" was set in motion during a period in which the United States had suspended military aid to the government. . . . Military aid is no substitute for the reforms that alone offer the prospect of enduring legitimate rule. But neither is there any avoiding of the need for careful, adequate, effective military aid. Nicaragua and Cuba, and somewhere behind them the Soviet Union, have left Mr. Reagan no choice.

This is a breakthrough for the *Post*, which has come to understand the Soviet role in the whole affair. And while one might object to the notion that only a "reform" government can offer "enduring legitimate rule" (by this standard no Communist government offers such enduring legitimacy, and one could make an equally convincing case for the reverse proposition: that only a military regime can hope to quell the current assault), we can all applaud the *Post* editorialists' courage and forthrightness.

Last of all on this dreary subject, a bouquet to Mr. Juan M. Vasquez, the *Los Angeles Times*'s man in El Salvador, for his excellent reportage on January 23. He quotes acting archbishop Rivera y Damas: "The Salvadoran people are not convinced that the consequences of an insurrection of a socialist nature would be better than what the present government is trying to achieve." Keep that in mind the next time an American priest stands up and denounces the United States for supporting the junta. And watch the Libyan connection, in El Salvador as elsewhere, in the near future.

Brzezinski: On January 12, Zbigniew Brzezinski gave a speech in Paris that sounded as if it had been written in part by Cy Vance's new peace consortium (which includes the Russian Arbatov and other free thinkers). "If the workers of Gdansk have the right to demand a decent wage and decent weekly hours, the peasants of El Salvador and Nicaragua have a right to demand their land." Continuing in this vein, the then-national security adviser added "it is very difficult to argue that the Soviet Union should restrain itself when a trade union movement manifests itself which doesn't challenge formally party supremacy . . . and at the same time say that we're going to support regimes which oppose land reform and social changes in an area in which we have been dominant."

This sort of nonsense is hard to explain in the mouth of the Carter administration's vaunted hawk. I suppose it shows how contagious the sickness in Carter's White House had finally become. Brzezinski probably knows that there is a considerable difference between American "dominance" in Central America—where we ourselves guaranteed the success of the Sandinistas, and even offered aid to them—and Russian suzerainty over the satellites. And we can only hope that he also knows there is quite a difference between the democratic Polish trade union movement and the totalitarian-supported guerrilla movements in Central America. But that is not the point here. The point is that not one editorial writer in the country chose to blast Zbig for this nonsense, whereas he had been regularly lambasted whenever he chose to call attention to the unpleasant aspects of Russian imperialism.

The New York Times: I am pleased to report that my call for a boycott of the *New York Times* is gathering support. And none too soon at that,

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for the *Times* is showing distinct signs of delirium. On January 13, the editorial column came out for the endorsement of Alexander M. Haig, Jr. as Secretary of State. Surprised? So was I, but when I read the justification, it all became clear:

> He is, in short, playing the hand that politics dealt him, but in pursuit of familiar goals: detente or East-West standoff by another name; a vigorous West; evolution rather than revolution in other regions. Most encouragingly, he sees the Russians, despite their power, as the frustrated custodians of a failed ideology and economic system. He therefore thinks American policy depends as much on economic as military prowess. The tough day will come when there are choices to be made between the two.

So, you see, the *Times* simply convinced itself that Haig is one of them. But just two days earlier Scotty Reston had written in the same newspaper that "it was hard to believe that (Haig) was being considered as Secretary of State, rather than as Secretary of Defense or Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. . . ." And the excellent Bernard Gwertzman had put it very accurately: "For those accustomed to previous secretaries of state talking about detente and the need to avoid nuclear war, Mr. Haig presented quite a different picture. His worry was not so much that there might be a military confrontation but that the Soviet Union was expanding so rapidly in military power that Western policy might be paralyzed by this growth." That's the truth, folks. But don't tell the *Times* about it; their editorialists would—judging by the ominous last line quoted above—call for a new economic program. □

THE TALKIES

A PIANO RECITAL

by John Podhoretz

One of the most maligned movies in recent memory is Joel Oliansky's *The Competition,* a film so roundly drubbed by the New York critics that its future general release around the country is somewhat doubtful. It is a simple, quiet story, forthrightly told, about an important piano competition and two of its finalists. One is Paul Dietrich (Richard Dreyfuss, in a superb performance), nearing thirty, a prodigy already five years too old to be a prodigy. He must win this competition—probably the last he will be allowed to enter because of his age—if he is to realize his hard-travelled ambition to be a world-class pianist. The other is Heidi Schoonover (Amy Irving), twenty-two, wealthy, beautiful, with years of competitive life ahead of her even if she loses this one. They fall in love, of course. But they are clearly the two best entrants, and so one of them must win and one must lose. *The Competition* sets up a familiar situation, and manages to milk it for all it's worth, and more.

Paul is the son of a father who has saved his every trophy and medal, and so he walks with the mild strut of the permanently spoiled. Yet because time is running out for him, he is riddled with guilt over his lack of success and his financial dependence upon his parents. The further complication of his father's serious illness makes it absolutely imperative for him to win the Arabella Hillman Competition (with its $20,000 prize and two years' worth of concert bookings) if his entire life is not to go to waste. He shows up at the competition tense, arrogant, and antagonistic. He must win, that is all, and the pressure upon him leads him especially to antagonize the attractive Heidi, who might divert his thoughts from his single-minded determination.

Heidi, on the other hand, is almost flip about the whole affair; her teacher (Lee Remick), the sixth in a line of students that leads straight to Beethoven, has even entered her without her knowledge. Heidi immediately lights on Paul, whom she had encountered four or five years before at the Tanglewood Music Festival. His initial coldness does not much faze her. Heidi, we discover, did not even start out playing the piano; the cello was her instrument, but its stem tickled her nose, and so she switched. When Paul softens to her, she does not heed her stern teacher's words about the need for competitive edge, but instead does all she can to support and encourage him. She seems oddly unconcerned about her success or failure in her chosen profession.

Despite a somewhat sodden subplot about a high-strung finalist from the Soviet Union and the defection of her teacher (a device thrown in to delay the competition for a week so that Paul and Heidi will have time to fall for each other), the movie stays resolutely on course with these two characters and their tempestuous relations. Every thought of his goal causes Paul to grow angry and fearful of her; every thought of what the competition means to him leads her to believe that she must drop out and give him an easier time of it. Heidi's teacher views this growing resolve bitterly, and it is intimated that in the past she may well have done the thing Heidi wishes to do, and has learned an unpleasant lesson from it.

At last the finalists must play (there are six, and so the competition takes place on two nights, Paul playing the first night, Heidi the second). Paul plays the *Emperor* Concerto, beautifully and proudly. He has had his triumph, is sure he cannot lose, and so she is surer than ever that she must withdraw. He convinces her otherwise: "If you win—good. If I win—better. But the corporation goes on." Everything seems set. But when Heidi begins her Mozart concerto, something goes wrong with her piano, and something happens inside her. She demands a new piano, and she demands to play a different, more difficult Prokofiev concerto. Suddenly it is clear to us, and to Paul, that she is good, and that she does wish to compete. She plays the Prokofiev so well that Paul cannot bear to stay and listen, for surely she will win. And if she does, what will that do to their "corporation"?

The harsh words with which *The Competition* was greeted in the press testify to its conventional strengths: its interesting situation, its two interesting characters, and its willingness to pander to its audience. Now, pandering to an audience is something held in the utmost contempt by "serious" critics of film. What is wanted, they aver, is originality and challenge. And so they pan *The Competition* and praise *Raging Bull,* a movie as original and challenging as it is alienating and incomprehensible. *Raging Bull,* which concerns a near-psychotic boxer, allows its audience to wallow for two hours in the bestial behavior of its title character. If this is what people go to the movies for, then I'm the little old lady from Dubuque. We "learn" nothing more from *Raging Bull*'s powerful flash and dazzle than we do from movies like *The Competition.* They merely throw us off guard, which is not a pleasant experience, and is certainly less than enlightening.

Most moviegoers, I think, do not go to the movies for originality and challenge; rather, they go for repetition and simplicity. The gangster movie and the Western, which have been the two most profitable genres in the history of the movies, tell stories with which we are completely familiar over and over again. Their absolute lack of originality and refusal to challenge us are two of the main reasons for their success. All successful popular entertainment is in the most profound sense conservative; that is, it must follow set, pre-ordained patterns, with which the audience has become comfortable. The audience can enjoy only that which it knows. (This also holds true for great works of art; if the form is truly alienating, the material will be as well.) *The Competition* relates a familiar story well—and that is more than enough. □

John Podhoretz is editor of Counterpoint *and film critic of* The American Spectator.

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2 vols; Fall 1980 Winter 1981 / $4.00 each

Eliot Cohen

Those who regularly read a major newspaper and have a reasonable knowledge of postwar history will learn no new facts from the articles in the two volumes of *U.S. Defense Policy in the 1980s,* put out by *Daedalus,* the journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Then again, that is not why we should inspect this publication: Rather, we read these issues of *Daedalus* to discover how a substantial chunk of this country's foreign policy elite thinks about our national security problems and what it thinks the solutions to them are. Unlike *Daedalus*'s first major effort in this field—its 1960 volume on arms control—*U.S. Defense Policy in the 1980s* attempts to cover a number of topics and tap a variety of views. The introduction concedes that the earlier volume contained analyses and recommendations that the next two decades exposed as impractical, if not ridiculous. The editor assures us that:

> It would be wrong to imagine that those who wrote in 1960 were naive, that their optimism clouded their vision, or that their pride confused them about the limits of all human design. They were not simply men and women inexperienced in politics, who imagine that all would be easy.

Most of us, perhaps even some of those men and women, would disagree, arguing that the differences between the two issues of *Daedalus* show a considerable advance in thought. The composition and arguments of *Daedalus* 1980 show more political realism and certainly less self-confidence than those of *Daedalus* 1960: There is but one plaintive, old-fashioned plea for the primacy of arms control, and it is more than matched by the sober warnings of Richard Pipes and others. This is a post-post-Vietnam collection, and readers should take note of this return to reasonableness. Almost none of the authors wander into the dreamlands of conclusive détente, or of a negotiated world order based on new international economic arrangements.

Yet the lassitude induced by the past two decades lingers. Our experts write so cautiously that few of the pieces are worth reading. The best essay on the European Alliance, for example, offers the following prescription:

> Rather than add military strength without improving the chances for West European survival, or reduce strength without improving the stability of political relations inside Europe, current processes need to be redirected to create structural conditions in Europe that produce a continental *modus vivendi* that is capable of containing Soviet power without foreclosing increasing interactions with the Soviet Union.

Most of these essayists equivocate terribly, obscuring both their fears and their proposals in a verbal fog that suggests confusion rather than prudence.

There is, however, a lesson in the structure if not the substance of these two volumes. There are two articles on the Soviet Union, six on regional problems, four on Europe, three on nuclear strategy, three on arms control, and two on technology (primarily strategic technology). The Soviet pieces are good, and the regional pieces sound if not novel—with the exception of Paul Jabber's biased discussion of the Middle East. These articles aside, we see that the foreign policy elite remains preoccupied with two sets of problems: squabbling between the United States and Europe on one hand, nuclear strategy, arms control, and technology on the other. It is this arrangement that is so troubling. Why do these volumes which purport to discuss defense policy fail to deal with problems of conventional war—the effects that new technology and tactics will have on battle, the changing nature of seapower, the problems attendant upon limited war in non-European climes? Why do they include not a single evaluation of the domestic politics of defense, the question of conscription, for example, or the organization of the defense industries? Why do the authors of the regional studies fail, for the most part, to include military detail such as the physiognomy and psychology of foreign armed forces in their analyses? Why is there no discussion of the lessons—technical, tactical, and political—of Vietnam?

This complete failure to raise, let alone grapple with such vital questions leads one to believe that our problems are intellectual rather than political. Most of our academic and other experts have yet to study war, and because they do not, their articles suggest nothing so much as a sort of sclerosis of defense thinking. Their refusal to deal with politico-military issues in detail is symptomatic of the failure of American intellectuals generally to do so.

A large part of the problem begins at the university, where most of the contributors to these volumes hail from. At our best schools professors do not include military history in their courses: If they cannot skip over a military episode, they explain the outcome in the vaguest of social or political terms. They tell their students that the North won the Civil War because it was industrialized and socially "modern," ignoring the strategic and statesmanlike skills of Lee and Davis on the one side and Grant and Lincoln on the other. They betray thereby what the English military historian Cyril Falls once described as a perverse desire to prove that wars are won by anything but that most obvious and truly decisive factor—fighting. Professors will not take the time or do not think it intellectually respectable to explore the intricate links between technology, tactics, operations, strategy, society, and politics: Like the authors of these articles they feel most comfortable at the last of these levels, daring only to dip into the abstractions of grand strategy. This repugnance, which dooms most discussions of the kind that we read in *Daedalus* to dreary superficiality, seems to follow from the nature of a liberal, prosperous, and insular country—in some ways it was as true of England in the nineteenth century as America in the twentieth. Now, as then, historians and political scientists leave detailed treatment of military problems to antiquarians or technologists who, for obvious reasons, have narrow interests and limited perspectives. →

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Nuclear strategy and arms control is the major exception to the above indictment: In fact, the literature on nuclear strategy grossly exceeds the topic's merits. This is so in large part because the cataclysmic consequences nuclear war would have create a morbid fascination in some and a frantic sense of urgency in others. Natural and social scientists find the issues pleasantly technical and quantifiable. Because no hypothesis has yet been tested in practice, no theory can be exposed as foolish; because strategies are seemingly set in advance, human interaction seems banished from the battlefields and war can be imagined in equations.

The nuclear strategists and arms control experts tend to deprecate the value of the study of pre-1945 history because (they claim) nuclear weapons have utterly transformed warfare. In a sense, of course, they are right, but the real effect of nuclear weaponry has been to make the superpowers more cautious—and to force them to rely as much as ever on traditional instruments of power. In addition (and this the editor of these *Daedalus* issues acknowledges), nuclear arms control has failed for the same political and military reasons that naval arms control failed in the 1920s and 1930s—which suggests that larger forces than fission or ballistic missile technology are at work.

If students of military history receive little encouragement or training in the universities, the situation elsewhere is not much better. In the Department of Defense and the network of consulting agencies that live off its bounty, the systems analysis approach, rooted in the antiseptic laws of economic theory, shapes the minds of bureaucrats and their aides. Of war as a dirty and unpredictable business dominated by such emotions of fear and comradeship one hears little. Worse yet, as Gabriel and Savage have shown in their *Crisis in Command,* the same stultifying mentality dominates the armed forces. At our war colleges senior officers learn far more about "decision analysis" and game theory than they do about, let us say, the difficulties of coalition warfare revealed by the North African campaigns of 1942-1943.

These failings have far less to do with the differences between Democrats and Republicans than with fundamental flaws in the ways that we analyze national security problems. We should remember that it was a Republican administration (retrospectively admired for its prudent toughness) that justified abolition of the draft on the dubious grounds of economic rationality and libertarian principles. The appointment by the incoming administration of a technocrat without national security experience to run the Department of Defense, and its disproportionate interest in strategic nuclear weapons, is hardly encouraging.

What should the first questions about U.S. defense policy be? To begin with, they should focus on problems of conventional defense, which are far more complicated and delicate than those of strategic nuclear policy. To be sure, measures should be taken to protect and improve those forces, but beyond a certain point, we tend to overestimate the significance of the central nuclear balance. The Soviets have no intention of launching a first strike—why should they, when they can achieve many of their goals without such a risky course? Accidental war is unlikely as well—both sides know full well the consequences of an exchange of nuclear broadsides. Our forces are far more likely to engage Soviet proxies and Third Worlders of various stripes than they are Russians, and even if they do fight Russians it is entirely possible, in fact likely, that the nuclear balance will keep the conflict conventional.

We must thus prepare for a multiplicity of small wars in foreign countries. The chaos latent in post-

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colonial societies (so well described by V.S. and Shiva Naipaul), the prospect of generally unsettled international relations, and intensified U.S.-Soviet hostility are likely to lead to conflicts, in some of which we will have to intervene. Our primary concern, of course, must be the Persian Gulf, and the development of forces capable of dominating that region. None of the *Daedalus* articles discusses the Rapid Deployment Force in depth, yet this awkward assemblage of units is the most likely of all major American forces to see action in the next decade. The recent test deployment to Egypt of one battalion (Operation Bright Star) demonstrated the validity of one of the main lessons of the North African campaigns in World War II, namely, that troops require special equipment, training, and tactics for desert warfare. One would assume that American troops would be trained to be as adaptable as possible and be prepared for deployment in a number of geographical areas, particularly the Persian Gulf. Instead, we find that most of the U.S. Army trains for all-out conventional war in Europe; the officer corps conceives this to be its primary mission; defense planners structure forces to deal with this contingency above all others. Only a few senior officers (notably General Edward C. Meyer, U.S. Army Chief of Staff) have had the courage to admit that we are preparing the armed forces for the wrong war in the wrong place.

As it stands now, the United States deploys a full-scale army in Europe, even as it keeps substantial forces in Asia and prepares to fight in the Persian Gulf. This is folly: We could straddle the globe this way when fully mobilized, as in World War II, but not in peacetime or at least not with anything less than massive increases in spending and the introduction of large-scale conscription. Currently, our European commitment distorts our conventional forces, causing them to lose the versatility that they will need: We train and equip disproportionate numbers of men for the peculiar conditions of all-out war in central Europe, paving the way, perhaps, for reverses in those parts of the world where we are actually likely to fight.

We should increase sharply the size of our Air Force and Navy; we particularly need more logistical craft and additional heavy nuclear-powered aircraft carriers which enable us to control distant seas and littorals. Both services allow us to transport our land forces to where they are needed and to inflict controlled damage—by punitive bombardment or blockade—on the various states that may oppose us.

We must improve our capacity to mobilize. It is only recently that an effort has been made to integrate our reserve with the standing forces and there remains a lot to be done—for example, to create units possessing a sizable cadre of regulars which can be fleshed out swiftly in time of emergency (as both the Israelis and the Russians do). We should completely divorce the National Guard from state control: Reservists cannot serve well as part-time soldiers *and* part-time policemen. Instead, we should create regular reserves trained for war, and state police reserves trained for riot control, disaster relief, and the other functions that the National Guard now serves. Both types of reserve, now vastly understrength, should draw their men from a universal or near universal draft of all young men. Our standing army need not be larger than it is now, and perhaps could even be reduced, but it must be skilled at adapting to a variety of theaters of war and it should be ready to expand swiftly. These standing

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forces should, for practical and philosophical reasons, consist of long-service volunteers. As we learned in Vietnam and as the British and French knew before us, it is a political and military mistake to fight small wars in distant lands with short-service conscripts. There are, in addition, moral arguments against forcing a small percentage of our young men to fight in limited wars of this kind, which professional soldiers are better at winning in any event. Moreover, a draft into the reserves would meet pressing military needs and make military service respectable by making it a rite of passage for all young men. Perhaps most important, such a scheme would embody the notion of militia service, which has long been recognized in England and the United States as a legitimate obligation, unlike simple conscription into the armed forces or proposals for a *corvée* misnamed "national service."

To implement these changes, and above all to break ourselves of our Eurocentric military orientation, we might need to reduce the land forces that we station in Europe. We could compensate for this by planning larger reinforcements (drawn from our reserves) to Europe in the event of war, by assigning increased air, tactical nuclear, and naval forces to NATO, and by retaining a sizable force in Europe (two full divisions, say, or five cadre divisions). Unlike our NATO partners, we have major global responsibilities; surely, it is not unreasonable to ask that they bear the brunt of first-line defense in the opening stages—and only the opening stages—of an invasion of their territory.

But we need statesmanship backed by informed public opinion for these and other, even larger measures: to impose the financial burdens required by rearmament, to reverse the pernicious experiment of putting large numbers of women into almost all branches of the armed forces, to animate the officer corps with the spirit of professional warriors rather than the ethos of blue- or green-suited bureaucrats. Above all, we need knowledge of how armed forces operate, what form war is likely to take, what political ends military action can and ought to serve. The *Daedalus* volumes offer little help in these fields—unfortunately, we know of few sources that do. □

THE BIRTH OF A TRANSFER SOCIETY

Terry L. Anderson and Peter J. Hill
Hoover Institution Press / $6.95

Karl O'Lessker

When government has the authority to transfer wealth from one person to another, he who stands to gain or lose from such a transfer would be well advised to devote considerable resources to influencing government to act on his behalf. So it is that literally tens of thousands of lobbyists and lawyers earn comfortable livings in that line of work, but it is not at all clear that society as a whole benefits. One of the many merits of this excellent short book by two young economists at Montana State University is that they show clearly enough even for academic liberals to grasp that "Because transfers consume resources, such activities decrease the total product of society. . . . Transfer activity . . . is a negative sum game—a series of social interactions that decreases the size of the pie."

But of course that is not the largest, or even a very serious, problem with transfers. A society as generally affluent as ours won't be measurably impoverished by the loss of product resulting from so many people working as lobbyists rather than as chemists or farmers or tool-and-die makers. When government decides, for instance, to transfer vast sums of money from the pockets of consumers to the bank accounts of milk producers, our primary concern is not likely to be over what better things the lobbyists, legislators, and bureaucrats might have been doing with their time.

By the same token, proponents of coerced transfers—welfare is what most conservatives think of in this connection, though in fact large-scale transfer activity long antedated welfare in the United States—may well concede the costs to "the total product of society" but still insist that the alleged benefits to society far outweigh the costs; benefits denominated in such terms as "social justice" or preserving the domestic dairy (or steel or merchant marine or tobacco) industry.

Messrs. Anderson and Hill are concerned not so much to argue the case against transfers—though they do so very effectively and state at the outset that their purpose in writing the book is to change people's minds in favor of the free market—as to trace the history of how we got from a constitutional regime that largely guaranteed the integrity of market operations to one in which the federal government has become the nation's principal allocator of resources, possessing virtually unlimited regulatory power. And so, after two brief introductory chapters defining their terms and establishing an analytical framework, they turn to a historical review, primarily of the role of the Supreme Court in bringing about "the birth of a transfer society."

It is here that problems arise. Even those of us who share the authors' economic and social-philosophical views may be inclined to question their interpretation of constitutional history and, more importantly, their view as to whom we should look to for protection of property rights and a healthy economy. Let me deal with these in turn.

Did the Constitution of 1787 (as Justice Holmes wondered in a slightly different context) "enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's Social Statics"? Did it, in other words, confer upon the new nation an ivory-pure laissez-faire political economy which the Supreme Court was duty bound to preserve? Anderson and Hill come awfully close to asserting some such proposition, but Holmes certainly didn't think so and I don't either. The authors quote Irving Kristol's confident assertion that the Founding Fathers "understood what their contemporary, Adam Smith, understood . . . that poverty is abolished by economic growth, not by economic redistribution. . . ." That can hardly be correct. The Founding Fathers, for all their brilliance, were children of their age, an age in which the doctrines of laissez-faire were brand new and very far from being generally accepted. To be sure, the architects of our constitutional system were passionate defenders of private property and powerful advocates of limited government. But as Bruce Ackerman has noted in *Private Property and the Constitution*, "the Framers were neither blind worshipers of the market nor principled

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opponents of active government in all its forms."

The problem, then, is to determine what the Fathers regarded as permissible intrusions of state and national governments into the free exercise of property rights and contract-making. Let us suppose the impossible, that we were able to solve this problem—say, by discovering a cache of papers setting forth the explicit views of all or most of the authors of the Constitution on just these questions. What then would we do about nearly 200 years of wildly conflicting Supreme Court decisions "interpreting" the Constitution? Does anyone suppose for a moment that present policies would yield to a new-found revelation of what the Framers *really* thought was sound political economic policy for the sparsely settled agrarian society of two centuries ago?

There is another problem with this sort of analysis. It has to do with evaluating the long-term consequences of particular Supreme Court decisions. Consider the landmark case of 1877, *Munn* v. *Illinois,* to which Anderson and Hill rightly pay great attention. In that case the Court upheld an Illinois statute regulating the rates that grain elevators located in Chicago could charge. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice Waite enunciated the now famous doctrine that private property

> becomes clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence, and affect the community at large. When, therefore, one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good, to the extent of the interest he has thus created.

Anderson and Hill claim that this decision "revolutionized regulation law" and so indeed opponents of the decision, including Justice Stephen Field, vehemently averred. Yet, as Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison note in *The American Constitution,* the Chief Justice in his majority opinion was able to cite "several precedents from English and American law in which wharfs, warehouses, and private businesses had been subjected to regulation in the public interest" and to demonstrate "that the legislative power to regulate private property in the public welfare had passed unchallenged for centuries."

My purpose in raising this point is not to defend the Court's decision in *Munn* but to observe how hard it is to establish that any single decision is truly revolutionary in either character or effect. And in fact, contrary to the view expressed by Anderson and Hill, *Munn* v. *Illinois,* in its expansive view of the police powers of the state, was a lot closer in spirit to the *Slaughterhouse* cases of 1873 than to the great majority of all property rights cases of the succeeding half century when the doctrine of "substantive due process" was repeatedly invoked by a conservative majority on the Court to strike down regulatory legislation of which it disapproved. Indeed, the 1890 case of *Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Co.* v. *Minnesota,* as dissenting Justice Bradley pointed out, for all practical purposes overruled *Munn* v. *Illinois.* And, save for sporadic concessions to the power of the several states to regulate working conditions for women and children, it remained overruled till the Court did its historic about-face in 1937.

This is not, however, Anderson and Hill's view of the matter. To the contrary, they claim that "By 1915 . . . the major barriers erected by the Founding Fathers against large-scale legislative transfers had been dramatically lessened or removed altogether . . . [T]he groundwork had

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been laid for the birth of a transfer society." It remained only for state and national legislatures, unchecked by a largely complaisant Supreme Court, to deliver the nasty squalling child.

As I have suggested, there are problems both historical and analytical with this view—but I greatly admire the ingenuity with which the authors develop it in a remarkably brief and readable account. The far more serious reservation I hold lies with their conception of the proper role of the Supreme Court in the American political system. Their position may fairly be summarized as follows: The original constitutional contract (of 1787 plus the Bill of Rights) was designed to promote productive activities and hold transfers to a minimum. But democratic legislatures are always and everywhere prone to yield to majoritarian and special-interest pressures to engage in transfer (i.e., non-productive) activities. Under these circumstances it is uniquely the responsibility of the Supreme Court to maintain the original contract in force—to sit, in other words, not merely as a court but as a Supreme Legislature. According to this conception, it is entirely proper, indeed praiseworthy, for a judge to assert as Justice David Brewer did in an 1892 opinion that "The paternal theory of government is to me odious. The utmost possible liberty to the individual , and the fullest possible protection to him and his property, is both the limitation and the duty of government." Admirable sentiments; but which institution in a democracy should have the responsibility for elevating such sentiments into law—the court or the legislature?

Justice Holmes had little doubt that that responsibility must lie with the elected representatives of the people. In his classic dissent in *Lochner* v. *New York* (1905) he wrote:

> This case is decided upon an economic theory which a large part of the country does not entertain. If it were a question whether I agreed with that theory, I should desire to study it further and long before making up my mind. But I do not conceive that to be my duty, because I strongly believe that my agreement or disagreement has nothing to do with the right of a majority to embody their opinions in law. . . . A Constitution is not intended to embody a particular economic theory, whether of paternalism and the organic relation of the citizen to the state or of *laissez-faire*. It is made for people of fundamentally differing views, and the accident of our finding certain opinions natural and familiar, or novel and even shocking, ought not to conclude our judgment upon the question whether statutes embodying them conflict with the Constitution of the United States.

Now it may be that, as a practical matter, the American people are so unsuited for self-government that they must be protected against themselves by some such device as a Supreme Court of unelected philosopher-kings. But Court justices turn out to be just as variable, inconstant, and error-prone as any of the rest of us; only they are ever so much more powerful, being answerable to no one. And that is why Holmes's doctrine of judicial self-restraint deserves the assent of conservative free-marketeers even more than of liberals.

These disagreements aside, I have nothing but admiration for the insightfulness and lucidity of the book. In most respects it is a model of analysis economically (no pun intended) stated. If the authors' hope is ever realized for "an intellectual revolution strengthening our ideological commitment to basic rules limiting transfer activity and a constitutional revolution embodying that commitment," this book will have contributed materially to that happy outcome. ☐

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MAN AND WOMAN IN CHRIST:
AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN LIGHT OF SCRIPTURES AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
Stephen B. Clark / Servant Books / $15.95

Philip F. Lawler

Vampire prose. Like so many academic exercises, this book takes a fascinating topic into its embrace and sucks the life out of it. Two or three more books like this, and the subject will never die—it will live on in footnotes and dissertation proposals forever—but it will never really be alive.

Is it possible to write a boring book about sexuality? To call for the subjugation of women without being provocative? Alas, yes. Stephen Clark has shown the way. He has mastered the arts of scholarly somniloquy: interminable length (668 pp.), eye-glazing repetition, and footnotes—footnotes everywhere—within which the most interesting parts of the argument are safely squirreled away. As if that weren't enough, Clark has written this book (like his two previous works) for a miniscule audience: Christians living in a communal religious setting.

And yet, despite itself, this book does yield some interesting thoughts—if only by the powers of negative example. Clark has shown how Christians should *not* respond to a hostile political milieu; his approach is diametrically opposed to the activism prevalent on the New Right today. And at the same time, he has demonstrated how *not* to combat the women's liberation movement.

"In non-Christian settings, Christians should accept the prevailing order and customs of the situation as much as possible," Clark argues. No Jerry Falwell here. Rather than battle for their particular views, believers should retreat into their own enclaves. This despite the fact that (as Clark persuasively claims) modern society is inimical to Christian values. Evidently he has not learned the brutal lessons of history. When a religious sect is confined to ghettoes within an adversary culture, tragedy ensues. If Christians intend to go back to the catacombs, they had better also be prepared to face the lions—or their twentieth-century equivalent—again.

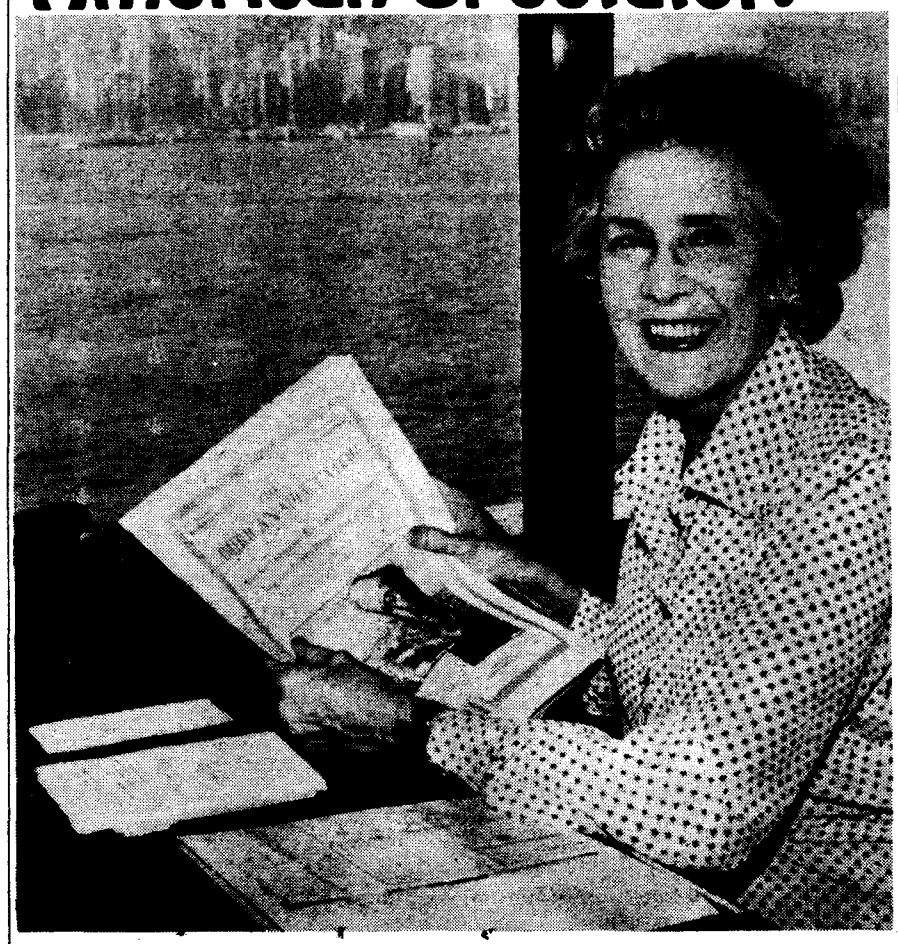
Clark, who has seen lions primarily in zoos, yearns for the halcyon days of early Christianity, before the conversion of the Emperor Constantine and the subsequent rise of the Holy Roman Empire. His recounting of the growth of Christian doctrine illustrates that preference; his argument glides over the Middle Ages, skating swiftest where the ice is thin. So he avoids any serious discussion of the culture in which Christian doctrine—including Christian doctrine about the roles of men and women—fits most comfortably. Whatever the defects of the age, the Middle Ages did provide believing Christians with ample opportunity to integrate their faith into their daily lives.

More to the point, Clark never comes to grips with the marriage of faith and reason that made medieval culture possible. In fact, his book is neatly divided into those chapters that discuss Scripture and those that discuss social scientific data; faith and reason are thoroughly divorced. Although he eschews fundamentalism, Clark is unwilling to draw any inference from his faith other than what he can derive from exegesis of Biblical passages. Thus, for instance, since St. Paul never discusses the merits of slavery as an institution, Clark concludes: "In short, there is nothing of Christian significance in being a slave."

Unfortunately, this unwillingness to mix faith and reason is not unique to Clark; quite the contrary. Walk into the nearest "Christian bookstore," and listen for the sappy background music. Sample the literary wares, and notice the suppressed premise that intellectual rigor (to say nothing of lively prose) is uncharitable. For too long, Christians have played into the hands of their enemies, blurring the distinction between the worst excesses of smarmy piety and the highest reaches of

Philip F. Lawler is Managing Editor of Policy Review.

Who reads The American Spectator?



Clare Boothe Luce.
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Thomistic ethics. The net result has been the reigning popular assumption—only recently controverted by the Moral Majority and its cohort—the Christian faith is intellectually, psychologically, and politically irrelevant.

Nothing could be further from the truth, of course. If Clark had examined the Thomistic synthesis in any detail, he might have limned the process by which that synthesis was overthrown, and modernity established. Instead, he merely posits the rise of something he calls "technological society." His delineation of that society is strictly one-dimensional; it is inevitable and it brooks no exceptions. Traditional society emphasized a man's status; technological society emphasizes his function. Traditional society judged a person on who he was, or whom he knew; technological society does not care. Period. (This reviewer, reading the book in Washington while the transition job-hunt swelled to fever pitch, did not recognize the world Clark describes.)

On the dust jacket of this volume, a bevy of notable theologians and journalists praise the author for his exhaustive research into the Scriptural teachings on the subordination of women. All that praise is deserved. His research and documentation are formidable, and anyone who argues that Christianity and women's liberation are compatible will find this book a hard nut to crack. Bolstered by some fairly solid evidence from the social sciences, he makes an altogether respectable case for his point.

But will he convince anyone? Most of Western society, as Clark himself points out, will not accept the authority of the Bible. And the data from the social sciences are readily brushed aside to make fashionable ideologies more comfortable. What, then, remains? Is there anything more than a knee-jerk response to feminist claims: an admonition for women to stay in their proper place?

Incredible as it may seem, Clark confines his discussion to the question of authority in male-female relations. In a long book about sex roles, he manages never to mention sex! Nor does he dwell on marriage at any length, not even insofar as marriage illustrates the full development of male and/or female characteristics. And why not? It seems these considerations are irrelevant to his thesis. Thus:

> Very little of Jesus' teaching in the gospels bears on the roles of men and women. Only passages on sex, marriage, and divorce are directly relevant. However, these passages are more concerned with either sexual purity or the nature of marriage than with men's and women's roles.

So it seems that we must leave aside trivia such as marriage, and move on to consider the important aspects of sex roles, such as . . . female subordination. Now again, Clark is on solid ground in making this point; one cannot blink the many commands such as that found in I Peter ("Likewise you wives, be submissive to your husbands . . ."). But is that a full explication of female (let alone male) responsibilities?

Imagine, if you will, the extreme example of a submissive wife: the *bête noire* of feminist literature. She rises early to make coffee for her husband, irons his shirts, cleans the house, and drives him to the train. Now what? Assuming that he has not left a list of commands to be fulfilled through the day, what does she do until suppertime? To say she should be subordinate is hardly exhaustive of her responsibilities. What does she do all day?

Subordination is not a full-time job for anyone. Nor is housekeeping, thanks to the help of modern kitchen appliances. If women's lives have any importance (and Christians view all lives as infinitely important), then they must answer to something more comprehensive than their husbands' wills. Nor is it enough, in a discussion of male and female roles, to fall back on general comments about the obligations of both sexes. What is the distinctively female principle of conduct?

Such a principle did exist in the Middle Ages, but disappeared somewhere between Theresa of Avila and Gloria Steinem. But Clark does not remark this disappearance. Nor does he notice the deprecation of women that arose gradually alongside his technological society. Nor even the strange attraction that young people today feel for ideas such as the Oriental yin-yang dichotomy, which present the female principle in its broadest outline form.

Clark does half-recognize the problem. He sees that modern society has displaced the family with the workplace, compassion with cold reason, community with government, so that now, as he puts it, "The dynamic of family life is contrary to the dynamic of technological society. . . ." But which came first, the chicken or the egg? the rise of technological society or the confusion of sex roles? And is the process irreversible?

Contemporary feminism arises out of the premise that anything men can do, women can do just as well. Merely to state the case is to recognize its inadequacy. Enthusiasts spend much of their rhetoric shoring up that position with concessions, exceptions, explanations, asterisks—yes, and pure emotion. Ultimately the enterprise is doomed to failure. Women cannot challenge men on men's home field.

But the weakness of feminism in its current popular manifestation does not necessarily indicate that a woman's lot is a happy one. Since the time of, say, Descartes, our civilization has paid increasing deference to logic, science, strength, ambition, abstraction, and aggressiveness. Obversely, it has devalued the qualities of intuition, poetry, warmth, quietude, fecundity, and contemplation. Therein lies the degradation of the feminine principle.

In many traits, after all, women clearly excel men. A proper feminism would strive to restore our appreciation for those traits, rather than imbue women with others. And a proper re-ordering of sex roles—especially for Christians—would require both women *and* men to participate in that restoration.

Stephen Clark is a Roman Catholic, and yet, incredibly, he never mentions the example of Mary, Jesus' mother, as exemplar of the female principle. He seems in fact innocent of any understanding of Marian devotion. So perhaps it is understandable that he misses the point of his own citation from Pope Pius XI:

> For if the man is the head, the woman is the heart, and as he occupies the chief place in ruling, so she may and ought to claim for herself the chief place in love. □

FANNY

Erica Jong / New American Library / $12.95

Joshua Gilder

To the reader who might be seduced inside the covers of this book by the prettily revealed bit of garter-clad leg pictured on the jacket: Resist temptation, you'll be a happier man for it. But, you may ask, what could be more fun than a salacious, Clelandesque romp through the eighteenth century with the naughty little girl of *Fear of Flying?* Plenty, as it turns out. Our muddleheaded adulteress from that earlier work has matured into an ardent feminist with serious literary pretensions.

Fanny is Jong's attempt to write in the literary style of Fielding, Swift, Sterne, et al. Along the way, she has tried to create a feminist heroine who is something of a hybrid of Tom Jones and Fanny Hill. Success has not taught Erica Jong modesty. Nor has it given her a realistic sense of her talents.

Jong simply has a tin ear; she is deaf to all nuance in the language and has no feeling for its rhythm. She may affect certain typographical and spelling idioms, figures of speech and such, but only the producers of "Centennial" or some other made-for-TV historical potboiler would ever mistake this for style. Besides, all of Jong's ideas (literary as well as sexual/political) are cut after the fashion of contemporary cliché. They look positively incongruous and awkward dressed up in their antiquated habiliment.

Even in the hands of a skilled writer (e.g. John Fowles) such literary imitation is probably doomed to failure, the mimetic impulse not being in itself sufficient to sustain a whole novel. More seriously, however, it seems always to go hand in hand with what might very well be described as historical chauvinism; the didactic author explaining how he/she could have done the century better. Fowles in *The French Lieutenant's Woman* was forever lecturing; his readers, his characters, other people's characters. And after annexing the nineteenth century to his literary domain, he found himself at the end of the book at a complete loss as to what to do with it.

Jong, for her part, assumes that we, in this liberated era, are so much wiser than those Enlightenment primitives. Having in a rather haphazard way latched on to bits and pieces of the prevailing ideological debris (that peculiar precipitate of Marxism filtering through radical feminism and popularized Freudianism) she apparently feels well armed to do intellectual battle with history. Thus she tells us in the afterword to

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Joshua Gilder is Associate Editor of Saturday Review.

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her novel, "It may be objected by some that Fanny is not a typical eighteenth-century woman—and I am well aware of this fact. . . . In many ways her consciousness is modern. But I do believe that in every age there are people whose consciousness transcends their own time. . . ."

Now, apart from the absurd notion that Erica Jong could ever transcend anything, one can justly take issue with the premise that a "modern consciousness" (especially as she would define it) is necessarily the best consciousness. Undoubtedly there have been great improvements in some aspects of life over the centuries (one thinks immediately of computer games), but when discussing the life of the mind, the idea of progress is a much more questionable proposition, with subtle ups and downs for which one can't simply draw up a list of credits and debits (such as interior plumbing vs. Feminism). And how can the author improve upon a past for which she has so little understanding and no real feeling, despite her pleas of undergraduate infatuation (the ultimate blame for this book apparently lies with some Barnard professor whose ill-considered pedagogical enthusiasm inspired young Erica with a love for eighteenth-century literature).

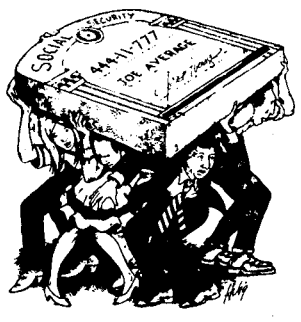
Just as Doctorow has been forced consistently to look into the past to find a convincing milieu for his agitprop docudramas, Jong has had to leave the century altogether to spin her woeful tale of sexist tyranny. Jong declaims mightily—but unpersuasively—on the terrible plight of women. Cleland, by contrast, even within the confines of his pornographic genre, demonstrates a much greater awareness of the dependent and vulnerable position of women in society. His Fanny is orphaned and left destitute as a young girl, and survives only because of a lucky combination of beauty and wiliness. Compared to the intelligent, spirited, and lustful heroine of Cleland's novel, Jong's Fanny comes off looking rather anemic. Jong takes her through all the paces, studiously trying to create a feminist heroine, a female Tom Jones, but the tone of the novel is curiously passive and detached throughout: The erotic scenes aren't; the action is implausible, and, as it turns out, men are responsible for most of it.

Jong's most revealing flaw is her inability to deal in any substantive way with the subject of class, one of the more crucial elements in fictionally reimagining eighteenth-century England (or even contemporary England for that matter). Having complained for so long about suburban oppression among the furs and cuisinarts, she is understandably dumbfounded when faced with *real* oppression. Her imaginative faculties, which hum along quite nicely when the focus is on sex and prostitution, come to a near standstill during Fanny's brief descents into the squalor of the London streets and Newgate prison. Once the author ventures outside the boudoir, her descriptions lose any sense of immediacy (proving it sound advice to the neophyte to only write from experience) and take on the quality of historical texts. Though the eighteenth century may have been guilty in our view of a rather unenlightened belief in the moral stigma of poverty, poverty was at least accessible to the eighteenth-century imagination. But to Jong, the poor will always be "them."

It's not surprising that Feminism is so blind to class; it arose primarily as a rationale for the holding action of the upper-middle classes in a deteriorating economy. The wife is sent out into the marketplace; the family is sacrificed to maintain a standard of living. This, of course, has been a cruel choice for all the middle class, but the couple struggling conscientiously to raise a family with both parents working will not be quite so sanguine about it as those who can sit back and luxuriate in the royalties accrued from "sexy" best-sellers.

Jong once said that *Fear of Flying* had enabled women to "get in touch with their fantasies, fears, ambitions, angers." It's always nice to get in touch. But the evidence presented in *Fanny* suggests that the fantasies of women are bland and uninteresting, their fears phantoms, their ambitions trivial, and their angers misdirected. It's true that in her first novel Jong didn't come across as a great talent (any mention of her second novel, or of her poetry, will for kindness' sake be omitted). Still there was a certain life to *Flying*, and underneath a lot of silliness, a healthy, endearing skepticism. But she has given up the promise of her beginnings for the comforts of being a Feminist Celebrity and not having to think. How much more simple it is to buy wholesale the pre-packaged thought of an ideology than to make up your own mind (as Isadora struggled so hard to do—with little success, to be sure—in *Flying*).

Maybe Jong is just a dumb blonde after all. She probably believed people back then when they told her she had written a feminist novel. She shouldn't have. *Fear of Flying* was better than that. *Fanny* is not. □



SOCIAL SECURITY: THE INHERENT CONTRADICTION

BY PETER J. FERRARA

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THE GEOPOLITICS OF INFORMATION: HOW WESTERN CULTURE DOMINATES THE WORLD

Anthony Smith / Oxford University Press / $13.95

Richard E. Bissell

"I have seen the imperialist enemy, and it is us," the liberal Western journalists have cried for some years—not meaning to include the media in their Pogoesque indictment of the West. The investigative tradition of the Western, particularly American, press has revelled in the "seditious activities" of various Western institutions (the CIA, ITT, et al.) in recent decades. The alleged neo-imperialism of the West has been laid bare by intrepid Western media explorers in the Third World. Now the tiger they let out of the cage has decided to bite the media as well, and they are very unhappy. But most of all, they are confused.

In the last few years, the West has been faced with growing demands at various international meetings for a "New International Information Order" (hereafter cited as the NIIO without well-deserved quotation marks), and with the presentation of the MacBride Report on the NIIO to the UNESCO Conference in Belgrade in October 1980, the issue has come to a head. Amadou M'Bow, the Secretary-General of UNESCO, could not restrain his modesty in presenting the report (sufficiently contradictory internally not to be worth summarizing), and asserted that with this report UNESCO has now become "the moral conscience of the world."

Specifically, advocates of the NIIO have advanced the following claims: The United States, France, and Britain control the world's print media; the people of the Third World are too dependent on the short-wave broadcasts of the BBC, Radio Moscow, and the Voice of America; each developing country should have its own news service and control over the flow of information into and out of that country, and it should be the responsibility of the developed countries to provide the necessary resources and personnel; the Third World will have to meet a threat posed by American construction of big computers and space stations with the potential to control global information in the twenty-first century; and the predictable conclusion: It has become necessary to break the control of the "neocolonialist, monopolistic, and undemocratic powerful media multinationals."

Now, if all that sounds like a combination of Cecil Rhodes and Buck Rogers, it just shows how fraudulent perceptions in developing countries have become. After the Third World experience in pushing the "New International Economic Order," the NIIO is as logical a sequel as *Jaws II* was to *Jaws*. The recent Belgrade conference at least managed to delay consideration of the MacBride Report recommendations. (Perhaps because of the upcoming election, the American delegation for once held firm against Third World demands). But the danger is that the report remains on the UNESCO agenda. To assure passage in 1982, delegates will spend two years mobilizing the guilt complexes of America while circusmaster M'Bow provides additional funding for the NIIO.

Anthony Smith has a major problem with the NIIO, and he is not alone. His dilemma is the same as that faced by the Ayatollah's apologists who welcomed Khomeini as a liberator only to become puzzled when he started to throw reporters in jail or expel them from the country. Smith doesn't like "old orders." He regards the structure that provides what we understand as a free exchange of news and information as antiquated and maintains that it should be scrapped, particularly on the basis of the NIIO complaints. He wants to find a meeting-ground with the NIIO, and so he accepts its premises as valid.

But since the solutions suggested by NIIO proponents would in effect eliminate freedom of the press, Smith subjects them to skeptical scrutiny. Thus, though he accepts that the West is "imperialist" in an abstract sense, he is clearsighted enough to realize that the remedies posed by the Third World will leave him marginal opportunity at best to cover his favorite Third World topics. The NIIO clearly knows what it is doing. At a UNESCO conference in Yaounde, Cameroon, last July, the delegates called not only for the establishment of a new pan-African news agency, but also for a "special conference about non-African radio stations whose presence in the continent embarrasses national radios."

Of course Western media embarrass developing countries, whose national media are sometimes directed to print outright lies—the kinds of deceptions that could not occur in an environment where communications are seen as a competition for truth. A more elegant formulation of the NIIO solution (included in the just-released MacBride Report) calls for international news agencies to "conform to national laws and development policies." Smith has a hard time dealing with the NIIO solution, yet can offer no alternative given his acceptance of the NIIO assumptions.

One doesn't have to be a friend of the NIIO to recognize that information flows affect political power. What sympathizers of the NIIO are unwilling to admit is that the dissemination of information has been far freer under the "old" order than under any other "order" known to man—including the NIIO. Those arguing for the NIIO simply don't like *bad* news—their behavior is akin to Haile Selassie's when he maintained vociferously during 1973-74 that there was no starvation in Ethiopia, or to Idi Amin's, when he fed reporters to the crocodiles for exposing his brutality.

Smith at least performs one service for readers: He conveys the state of mind of Third World governments, particularly as it is represented at UNESCO conferences. But he ignores this fundamental point: Truth is important to Third World (and Second World) citizenries if not to their governments, and it is under the present order that truth is best protected. Africans have good reason to listen to the BBC, and it is well understood why Soviet citizens listen to Radio Liberty and the Voice of America, or why one of the first steps taken by the Soviet Union during the Polish strikes of August 1980 was to resume the jamming of Western radio broadcasts.

But even if the Western media were to fail to convey the truth, a "new" order would not be necessary: The marketplace will ensure that the media communicating the most truth will prevail. To abandon our traditional instruments in the search for truth would be suicidal. □

Richard E. Bissell is managing editor of Orbis *and the author of several works on Third World politics.*

A TIME FOR ACTION

William Simon / McGraw-Hill / $10.00

Michael C. Brown

When last Mr. Simon was heard from, in 1977 when times were tough and readers of this journal were perhaps just discovering the delights of our departed Wonderboy president, the title of his book then was *A Time For Truth*. There were many hard truths in that well-written book, mostly rising out of Simon's years in Treasury under Presidents Nixon and Ford. The current issue of William Simon's meditations is entitled *A Time For Action*. With the Reagan ascendancy both the title and the brief filed under it assume major importance. What might have been a very interesting back-burner discussion during another Carter-slog through four years suddenly has become a preeminent document in a critical debate.

For this reason I wish Mr. Simon's book had been written a little less colloquially and a little more for the ages. There is an avuncular, conversational tone throughout that often has an unfortunate lulling effect on even the most attentive reader. Nevertheless, Mr. Simon is a most compelling pamphleteer and *A Time For Action* stands up as a stirring set of marching orders.

Certainly most of us are ready to form ranks after the last four years of liberal jungle-ball economics. From President Carter's laughable voluntary wage and price controls and his

Michael C. Brown is editorial assistant at the San Francisco Chronicle.

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howler of a balanced budget, to theoretician and guru J.K. Galbraith's plot for government to inaugurate a system of income and price restraints over those who have "gained control of prices and of income independent of market restraints," the past few years have seemed like a conspiracy to separate the average American from an average prosperity. William Simon mercilessly catalogues the economic horror stories of recent years in his opening chapter, "The American Crisis": $180 billion in federal deficits in four years; continued declines in capital investment; 100,000 steelworker jobs lost in a single decade; 18 percent annualized inflation rate; lowest housing starts since World War II; total U.S. public and private debt, $4.25 trillion; and on and on. Depressives and those on maintenance doses should absorb this book carefully.

Mr. Simon wisely breaks into this appalling litany periodically with illustrations of the quiet truths of American capitalism: Capital investment = productivity = jobs for a growing labor force = increased standard of living. But there is no doubt what Mr. Simon sees as the overwhelming equation of our current state: Declining standard of living = continued loss of jobs = more government intervention = higher inflation = financial panic and collapse.

The complex, regulatory nature of federal government emerges as the arch-villain of *A Time For Action*. Mr. Simon sees the Nader-Commoner-Galbraith axis linking the issues of energy and environment to economic growth and whipping what is fundamentally a disorganized, not dishonest, federal bureaucracy into a frenzied control of the economy by government. The creation of the now discredited Carter Department of Energy, only three years old and already so bureaucratically involuted that its founder refused to mention the agency during his campaign for re-election, was a typical liberal paregoric used to soothe what Simon calls the no-growth counterculture.

But the subtleties of the methods needed to reverse the regulatory nature of government are missing from this book. How is it possible to step into the halls and corridors of the EPA and OSHA and throw down the barriers against wild government paternalism? Given the American epidemic regard for one's own mental and environmental "space," and the constant gauging of how one "feels" in what amounts to almost an obsession with mortality, is it possible to turn back the American ethos to a spirit of freely competitive survival and individual effort? I sense Mr. Simon is not wholly optimistic on this point. He does suggest obligatory "economic impact" or cost-benefit findings before a regulation goes into effect, with benefits exceeding costs. But how is a national frame of mind altered? Advertising? Public relations? Benefit concerts?

Mr. Simon's book takes the long view in opposition to the short view and maintains the spirit of realism versus the spirit of utopianism. Your reviewer, particularly chuckle-headed in the fields of finance and economics, was mentally and spiritually galvanized by *A Time For Action*. Aha, say the liberals and progressives in the audience, more evidence that conservative, Republican economics are simple-minded solutions for the intellectually feeble. Nonsense. From Tom Paine's *Common Sense* to Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative* to William Simon's *A Time For Action*, clarity and clarion-calls have combined to stimulate both men of action *and* the clerisy to rise up and shake sense into society. Deo volente. □

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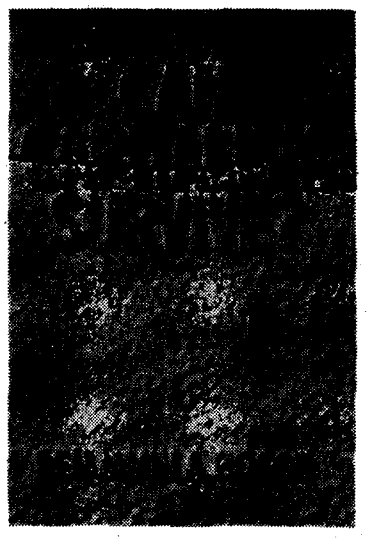

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SPECTATOR'S JOURNAL

The Sixth Borough

On June 21, 1980, the *New York Times* actually carried a report that a Soviet delegation of nebulous purpose had toured the South Bronx where it was appalled at the desolation. A spokesman for the borough said the borough plans to request over $5 billion in aid from the Russians, through the auspices of the nonprofit Soviet Peace Congress.

This brief story was relegated to the back section of the Saturday paper and the news went largely unnoticed.

What next?

September 20, 1980—the Bronx files a formal request for aid from the USSR. After computing postage and handling, the total, earmarked for economic revitalization and balancing of graft deficits, comes to $6.3 billion.

September 21, 1980—After a spirited unilateral debate, the Politburo approves the aid package. Vladimir Grulovoff, a Nobel Prize-winning dissident, decries the move, claiming the funds could be better used to create jobs and bolster the sagging Soviet economy.

Later that day—Grulovoff, in a statement released by *Pravda,* disavows his latest criticism and confirms the wisdom and "beneficence" of the action. Nonetheless, he is punished by being forced to collect every sponge in the city of Minsk.

October 5, 1980—American hawks declare the Soviet aid to be the first step in a master plan to establish a satellite in New York City. As the general election nears, the president forms an emergency congressional task force to study the aims of the "donation" and its possible implications for superpower relations.

January 25, 1981—After an extensive exploration of Soviet foreign aid policy and three months as honored guests of the Soviet Central Committee, the congressmen assert there is no reason to suspect any "malevolent intent" behind the Soviet funding.

February 22, 1981—Claiming a need to oversee the most efficient distribution of funds, the Soviets announce they are sending "advisers" to the South Bronx.

March 17, 1981—Americans are shocked to learn that 100,000 Russian troops posing as Hispanic refugees have entered New York harbors and consolidated their hold on the South Bronx. *Tass* claims they are there only to protect the advisers and will be withdrawn as soon as they can decipher the New York subway map.

April 1, 1981—The United States responds to this "invasion" by rushing several divisions of National Guard troops, augmented by several dozen transit officers, uptown on the Sixth Avenue Express. Ed Koch refuses to be intimidated and personally threatens to confront the "lawbreaking hooligans." For a few days, the world holds its breath and turns blue as it teeters on the brink of nuclear cataclysm. Finally, the two superpowers agree to a summit barbeque on Long Island and the tension is defused.

April 10, 1981—A decision is made to partition the South Bronx, with the Russians gaining most of it.

April 29, 1981—Baseball attendance plummets as fans and players alike resent having to show passports enroute to Yankee Stadium. However, New York's American League entry, renamed the Collective and stocked with Cuban talent, pulls out to a 5½-game lead.

June 11, 1981—New York City, having divested itself of the burdensome South Bronx, makes a startling fiscal recovery. The mayor rehires 25,000 teachers, who promptly go on strike demanding retroactive benefits.

Following N.Y.'s successful example, the U.S. agrees to lease the Soviets our most troublesome ghettoes; in short order, Spanish Harlem, downtown Detroit, Watts and the more disadvantaged areas of Miami, Newark, and Washington, D.C. fall under the Soviet orbit, forming a second Communist bloc and a rival professional basketball circuit.

August 18, 1984—At a city council meeting, Bronx Borough President Vasily Vasilevich announces that the increasing incidence of looting, arson, welfare fraud, and other "counter-revolutionary" activities has forced the USSR to withdraw from the area. Vasilevich cites several instances of mugging, looting, and drug-peddling at his diplomatic quarters, and complains of exhaustion due to the continuous blaring of "salsa" music under his window every night.

This signalled the beginning of the decline of Russian influence in urban America.

—James Gerard

The New School of Hard Knocks

Some time ago a state university announced that its students would henceforth be eligible to receive up to 15 credits for having studied in what one administrator called "the school of hard knocks." The only prerequisite, presumably, would be that the applicant would have to show proof of having been alive since birth. This along with a number of other off-campus "educational experiences" is expected to reduce significantly the number of "formal" courses students will have to endure, and similar developments are also afoot in other colleges. It goes without saying that many students will enthusiastically approve of the institution of such programs, but what of the administrators who devise them? A number of motives might be adduced to explain their behavior. While making no pretense of being comprehensive, the following playlet suggests a few possibilities. The names of the individuals and institution, needless to say, are fictional:

Scene: The president's office of Putney University, a middling-size institution of no distinction located somewhere in New England. The walls, which appear to be book-lined, in fact are covered with a kind of plastic wallpaper, stamped to resemble the backs of leather-bound volumes. Seated behind an immense mahogany desk is a portly, scowling A.J. Thimblerig, president of Putney U. and former head of Global Plastics Co. (which collapsed after plunging heavily into the imitation-book wallpaper line evinced in Thimblerig's office.) Across the desk sits Herbert Neebles, Dean of Affairs. A thin, dyspeptic man, he bears an uncanny resemblance to Don Knotts. His only known characteristics are a fawning servility towards his superiors and an intolerable arrogance towards everyone else. As the scene opens, Thimblerig is thumbing through a ledger, alternately grunting and wheezing in dismay.

Neebles: Er, something wrong, A.J.?

Thimblerig: Let's face it, Neebles, we've got our backs to the wall and the wolves are closing in. Another year like this and Putney is going to do an *en foldo.* We've got to come up with something and fast.

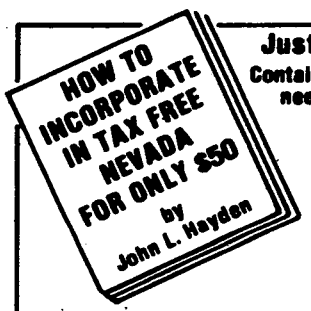
Neebles: Well, there was something I saw in the papers the other day, probably just a wild shot, but . . .

Thimblerig: Get to it, man, what are you thinking of?

Neebles: There's this school in Connecticut, I forget its name, but it seems they're going to start giving out credits to the kids for just about anything and . . .

Thimblerig: Get to the point. What's in it for us?

Neebles: Don't you see, A.J.? If we collect full tuition but then give the kids batches of credits for having finished high school, or for working during the summer, or . . .



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Thimblerig (warming to the idea): I get it. Say a kid takes a trip somewhere; credits for geography, credits for sociology, etc. Contrariwise, if he never got to go anyplace, we can give him a dozen or so for having studied the mores of his hometown.

Neebles: Right, chief! Credits for eating . . . call it "dietary planning" or something, credits for sleeping . . . "Intermediate Dreaming," and—

Thimblerig: I think you've hit it. We'll get their dough for practically nothing. And this has deeper implications, Neebles, though I wouldn't expect a man of your limitations to see them. We ought to be able to cut the faculty in half, by Christ, maybe two-thirds. (chuckling) Oh boy, how those babies'll scream—and the ones we let stay will be happy to take the pay cuts I've got planned for them. We can get rid of all those crummy books in the library too, and . . .

Neebles (excitedly): And cover the walls with Global "Plasti-Classic!" God knows there must be plenty of the stuff moldering in warehouses . . . er, sorry A.J., it just slipped out. . . . But why not give them *all* the credits for a degree right off the bat. That way we'll get their dough and never even have to see them.

Thimblerig (eyes narrowing): Careful there, Neebles, it sounds to me as though you're suggesting we lower the standards here at Putney. Why, this hallowed institution . . . (as Neebles' eyes begin to glaze, Thimblerig launches into the same speech he has given at nine consecutive commencements). . . . Now look, Neebles, why don't you round up some of those loafers in your office and write this whole thing up. I think you know what I have in mind. Once the trustees go for it, and they will if they know what's good for them (glances unconsciously at the wall safe which contains documents incriminating more than half the board in the Global mess), by Christ, I'll be famous! Let's see now, we'll call it the "Thimblerig Higher Education Plan for Relevant Living." Yes, that'll do fine.

Neebles: Gee, A.J. Since it was my idea in the first place, couldn't we call it the Neebles-Thimblerig plan? (clears his throat nervously), or how about the Thimblerig-Neebles plan?

Thimblerig (dangerously): I was just thinking, Neebles, we'll probably be able to dump a lot of administrators too. Do you follow me?

Neebles (who follows all too clearly, rises and heads for the door): Right, A.J., the Thimblerig plan it is.

—Robert J. Maddox

CORRESPONDENCE

Bethell in the Right

I was delighted with Tom Bethell's column in the January *American Spectator*. Bethell is absolutely 100 percent right. The alibis about not balancing the budget have become ridiculous especially with a raging inflation which makes prudent fiscal policy not only right but overwhelmingly popular.

You can be sure that I will continue to hammer away at this and offer budget balancing amendments, thanks in no small part to the encouragement of people such as Tom Bethell and the *Spectator*.

—William Proxmire
United States Senate

Rah *NR*! Rah *TAS*!

Please cancel my subscription to your paper. Your February 1981 issue is so offensive to me that I don't care to continue on your lists. I particularly disliked—and found most offensive—the editorial on Jimmy Carter. . . .

I read Wm. Buckley often but you lack his saving grace: wit. Also, I suspect that Buckley can laugh at himself occasionally and doesn't think he has all knowledge. I'm not sure you can ever see any position but your own. I find reading your paper a real downer, by and large.

—S. Carol Berg
St. Joseph, Minnesota

I have been a long-time subscriber (20 years) to the *National Review* because I regarded it as the journal of informed and intelligent opinion. However, in the eight months that I have been subscribing to *The American Spectator* I have revised my judgment. *The Spectator* surpasses *The Review* in every respect: editorials, commentaries, features, and reviews. My compliments to you for putting out what is simply *the* finest journal of them all.

—Ric Williams
Glendale College

P.S. R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.'s political obituary on the Wonderboy (February 1981) was the most outrageously funny piece of sustained political invective I have ever read; a great revival of a lost art.

Critical Reception

You have outdone yourself in the January and February issues of *The American Spectator*. The piece by Bryan Griffin on E.L. Doctorow is a devastating piece of satire and beautifully done. Mr. Griffin has my sympathy for having to read all those reviews, to say nothing of the books themselves, but he has put all that hard, grueling work to good use. In publishing this article, you have made an important contribution to the maintenance of civilized standards in criticism.

I also enormously enjoyed the articles in both issues by Tom Bethell. How refreshing it is to see such issues as government spending, the unwillingness of Congress to face issues honestly, the intellectuals, and bureaucracy, and socialism treated intelligently, and in good, clear English.

—Henry Regnery
Chicago, Illinois

My copy of the January *American Spectator* gave me some welcome respite from the usual Christmas hullabaloo, until I reached page 7—followed by 7 more incredible pages. I am still in shock: to think that eight precious pages out of a too-slender total should be devoted to excoriating people like Doctorow and Vonnegut! Good heavens! . . . Please—can't you find any subjects better suited for rumination and criticism? We need more attention to the public figures of today.

—H.M. Greenwood
Houston, Texas

Please accept my deepest congratulations for Bryan F. Griffin's "E.L. Doctorow and the Anxiety of Critical Reception." It is a wonderful exposé of the obvious failings of the Literary Establishment. It documents what I have long felt as an outside (far outside) observer, namely, that this Establishment has reverted to a modern form of Dadaism, in which any whim or feeling—preferably, an irrational one—will do. Critics today heap praise on any denigration of the Anglo-American literary tradition, whose standards they find too burdensome. Is it any wonder that the literate public has abandoned the contemporary novel for the sanity of "Masterpiece Theatre"?

—Leonard P. Liggio
Institute for Humane Studies

The Framing of the Presidency

Your article "Jimmy: At The End of the Revels" in the February, 1981 issue was an insult to the office of the presidency. No, I'm not a Democrat but I do respect the presidential office.

Don't send me any more issues of your magazine. Keep any money left of my current subscription.

—Harry P. Burleigh
Austin, Texas

I think that readers of *The American Spectator* will be interested to learn that the Official White House Portrait of James Earl Carter, Jr. (February cover) has already been affixed to the walls of the White House.

The photograph on the right shows a proud George Bush sitting in front of Mr. Carter's portrait. It appeared in the January 22, 1981 edition of the *Washington Star*.

—John C. White
Washington, D.C.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.'s summing up of Carter and the Carter disaster (February 1981) was perfect, just perfect, and not at all overstated either. Carter *was* the worst president ever, and I'm glad someone has said it out loud and so eloquently.

—Joseph Adelson
Ann Arbor, Michigan

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CURRENT WISDOM

Rolling Stone

Susan Sontag's 1980s replacement, after an evening of Nietszche and downers, ruminates in a thoughtful *fortissimo con bologna:*

John Lennon is dead. Who killed the Beatle? Was it a clean-cut, straight, right-wing older man? No, it was a twenty-five-year-old fan . . .someone who grew up wanting to be the musician, the poet, the free spirit that John was.

God, did we think much of ourselves when we let our hair grow, when we were on the barricades, when we took LSD and made love instead of war? And yet, too many of us died in the war, too many of us died with drugs. Some of us—the survivors—joined the establishment and became successful, but what kind of success? Our selfish success achieved recognition and made money—plenty of it. Our stomachs got fuller, rounder, our apartments more comfortable, our children more spoiled. What happened to our goals to change the world? Did we fight in '68 for the Eighties to give us Ronald Reagan?

It is time to react against our own apathy. It is time to grow up! Let's forget about our own small satisfactions. It is time to get together and fight, fight for the quality of life we deserve, the quality of people we can be. . . .

We loved the Beatles. One of them was killed . . . killed stupidly by the very product they created. Let us not be the generation that killed itself. It is time for *our generation to lead.*

Diane Von Furstenberg
New York, New York
[*January 22, 1981*]

Mother Jones

Hysterical shouts heard in the editorial offices of the illustrious *Mother Jones* and dutifully transcribed on her editorial slab:

"God help us now," read a hand-lettered sign hung out a window near our office the morning after Election Day. As this issue of *Mother Jones* goes to the printer, a week later, we share the feeling.

None of us here were great admirers of Jimmy Carter. We often wrote critically about him; his slide to the right helped pave Ronald Reagan's path. But the prospect of a Reagan presidency and the size of his victory are chilling. For the community of *Mother Jones* readers and for progressive Americans of all kinds, Reagan's victory, the people he will place in power and the appalling shift of power in the U.S. Senate—from the Churches and McGoverns to the Helmses and Thurmonds—could be the greatest political catastrophe in decades.

As the new witch-hunting emerges, much of the U.S. press will go along with it. Don't forget that when McCarthy managed to terrorize the country he was not even president, and Eisenhower didn't support him. But if Reagan sanctions a new wave of red-baiting, the atmosphere will be different. At first there will be the argument that the new president should be "given a chance" to see what he can do. Then there will be the media's usual kid gloves treatment of those in power.

Well, we're not going to participate in any artificial honeymoon with Reagan. We know who he is and what he wants to do. "First the Nazis came for the Jews, and I said nothing," wrote Pastor Martin Niemoller. "Then they came for the trade unionists and I was silent. . . . By the time they came for me, there was no one left to speak up for anyone." Whatever other mistakes *MJ* makes in the months ahead, such silence won't be one. We've scrapped other plans and will devote part of our next issue to the rise of the New Right and what it means for us all.

[*January 1981*]

The New York Times

Miss Roslyn M. Lipps reports on the kind of harrowing experience which urban sophisticates are exposed to while journeying on one of America's infamous open roads:

To the Editor: Driving to Manhattan on the New York Thruway on Nov. 30, on our return from a delightful Thanksgiving visit upstate, two friends of mine and I were confronted by no fewer than five carloads of hunters and their trophies: deer carcasses displayed on roofs of cars or dangling from the rear of the car, and in one instance three does' heads sticking out of the rear of a van.

Inasmuch as there is a law permitting hunting, which none of us non-hunters can change, would it not be possible to protect us from this jarring and offensive sight by requiring that the remains of slain deer be concealed in body bags similar to those used by the city's mortuaries?

Apart from the esthetics—or lack thereof—of this display of carcasses, there is also the safety factor. During our nearly two-hour drive, we noted that many drivers on the highway attempted to avoid these truly "moving violations" by speeding or cutting in and out—hazardous maneuvers evidently executed to lessen the "sportsmen's" affront to their sensibilities.

Since there are laws covering the rights of hunters (the deer have no say in such matters), is it not time that those of us who do not hunt have some protection of our rights too?

[*December 10, 1980*]

Ms.

Another drollery from one of the riotous Pistols, Nyms, Bardolphs, and Touchstones who disport and pen witticisms for the madcap readers of *Ms.*, a sophisticated journal of feminism:

Women's hemlines used to be considered a good economic indicator: high in prosperous years and low in depressions or recessions. Smith Barney, Harris Upham and Company, a Wall Street firm, is researching a less sexist alternative: the width of men's ties. Preliminary results indicate that a skinny tie is a mark of good times.

[*January 1981*]

The Nation

Ronald Reagan, caught goofing off once again, by the vigilant *Nation*, the weekly news magazine for the morally starched:

Reagan's recent characterization of the Iranians as "barbarians" is simply more of the same name-calling we heard in the first weeks of the confrontation, when the Carter people fumbled in *their* attempts to get a handle on the situation. It does not bode well for the future of the hostages or of U.S.-Iranian relations. Reagan will have to deal with Iran as it is rather than the "barbarians" of his rhetoric if the crisis is to be ended without further stalemate, and without violence.

[*January 17, 1981*]

Village Voice

A significant document of our time disinterred from the classified section of the noble *Voice,* the New Age's indomitable vocal chords:

Paul, Because we went all the way last night, I have lost respect for you. Sure, I wanted to seduce you, but after all you are the 'stronger sex' so what kind of guy are you? I want a man with enough self respect and moral stamina to say no. I'm disappointed and don't want to see you again. Women have a right to expect the objects of our affection to be unsullied. Perhaps more should have been said last night and less done. Too late now, we all learn the hard way. Diane.

[*November 11-18, 1980*]

Grassroots

Still more high-grade sociological analysis from the women of the fevered brow, and let us hasten to add, the prettily turned calf:

As women in a sexist society we are almost all recipients of unwanted sexual attention.

In a *Redbook* survey of 9000 working women it was found that 90% had been sexually harassed. Although the phenomenon is widespread, it is only recently that the issue has come into the foreground for consideration. This is primarily because sexual harassment has in most cases been regarded as an acceptable and established way for men to relate to women, and unlike rape, it is a more subtle form of male tyranny and power abuse, and therefore harder to name and challenge.

WHEN IT OCCURS

Sexual harassment occurs when a supervisor or co-worker subjects a woman to unwanted sexual attention, coerces her into sexual relations, and/or punishes her for a refusal, thereby affecting her job or emotional well-being. Sexual harassment is manifested verbally (sexist remarks, propositions, innuendos, subtle pressure for sexual activity) and/or physically (touching, patting, pinching, brushing against a woman's body, subtle pressure for sexual activity, physical assault and rape). Sexual harassment can also pollute the work environment in the form of pin-up pictures, sexist jokes and remarks not specifically directed at any one woman.

It is important to recognize that sexual harassment is a power play to discredit a woman's credibility and/or achievements by bringing her sexuality into attention. It is an abuse of institutionalized power or authority by men. Sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination that, in interaction with class, race and other forms of discrimination, denies women the opportunity to live and work comfortably.

[*November 12-25, 1981*]

America

While reviewing some racy reading material the Rev. George M. Anderson, S. J. comes upon a shocking revelation:

The book treats child abuse, wife abuse, sibling violence and husband abuse. It is children, however, who are the main focus of the book, because it is with them that family violence begins and continues. The authors found out not only that 90 percent of Americans approve of spanking and slapping as a normal and necessary part of raising a child—a view with which the authors disagree—but also that "millions of children each year face parents who are using forms of violence that could grievously injure, maim or kill them."

[*November 29, 1980*]

The New York Times

What Orwell had in mind when writing "Politics and the English Language," demonstrated by Walter Mondale, long-time proponent of the government-can-do school of political theory:

I don't believe that America voted for a radical lurch to the right or that there's been some fundamental change in American compassion and justice that some have described. I think circumstances were very heavily against us. Economics, inflation, prime rates, unemployment, the hostage issue, the frustration of U.S.-Soviet relations—none of these made people feel good about what was going on. We happened to be in office and took the blame.

[*December 21, 1980*]

CBS News

As Soviet divisions rumble along the Polish border, the NATO foreign ministries come to life, war rages in the Middle East, another Middle Eastern war seems imminent, the American economy heaves and gasps, and so forth and so on; Dr. Walter Cronkite, overcome by the death of John Lennon, heaves off a prodigious prologue to his evening news report, half of which was to be devoted to the historic expiration. Art triumphs:

Good evening! The death of a man who sang and played the guitar overshadows the news from Poland, Iran, and Washington tonight.

[*December 9, 1980*]

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